The Congregational Quarterly

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Rev. E. J. PRICE, M.A., B.D., Professor of Church History, etc., United College, Bradford.

Major-General A. W. GREELY, U.S. Army; thrice wounded in Civil War 1861–5; first private to reach rank of Brigadier-General. Led Arctic Expedition 1881; reached furthest north; third relief expedition sent out reached party, finding seven of twenty-five surviving. Built thousands of miles of telegraph in U.S., Cuba, Alaska, and China. Represented U.S. at Coronation of King George V.

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Mr. S. ALLEN WARNER, Co-Editor of *Teachers and Taught*.

A GREAT TASK

By the Rt. Hon. DAVID LLOYD GEORGE, O.M., M.P.

At the City Temple on Wednesday, May 9th, Mr. Lloyd George referred to the splendid work being done by the Colonial Missionary Society among thousands of ex-service men who have settled on the shores of the great Murray River in Australia. Mr. Lloyd George said: "These men who have settled on the Murray River are but the pioneers. Necessity has driven men, races, nations, from the days of Eden, in obedience to the Divine command, to go and inherit the earth. They flooded the forests of Germany, the plains of France, the isles of the Western Sea that we live in, and the overflow is a hundred millions in the United States of America. Emigration laws may divert the channel, they cannot arrest the flood. This need of men for more room will drive them further and further to the empty spaces of the earth. There are sixteen millions, I think, of white men occupying hundreds of thousands of square miles of Empire. There are many here who are listening to me now who will to see the day when there may attend in this building to hear a speaker from this platform say that there are a hundred millions of white men occupying these places.

"What I want to know is this: What manner of people will they be? Cicero said that States are made up of hearths and altars. These men, when they cross the seas, will found hearths—will they find altars? Upon the answer to that depends the greatness, the beneficence, the real glory, not merely of the British Empire, but of humanity itself. That is why I am a believer in the Colonial Missionary Society. It gets hold of men as they are pouring out to their new homes. You know that when a man turns his back on his home, especially a young man or a young woman—his home, his parents, his friends, his Church—too often he has a feeling that he is leaving God behind. That is disastrous to the young. This Society re-introduces God to that son of yours so far away from home.

"This Empire is going to have a great influence upon the world and its future, but if it is going to establish its real power it must be by the means that have made it great. The task of this Society is a great one. In a few years you will hear your Secretary appeal for something infinitely greater than he has appealed for to-day. He has got to cope with thousands now, he may have to cope with hundreds of thousands a few years hence.

"It is important that when these men go overseas they shall find these little mission-rooms referred to by your Secretary. They are very lonely—very lonely. I remember going on the prairie in Canada and a man said to me: 'When you go on the prairie you will come to a little house; you will see nothing around but fields of corn. If you look hard on the horizon, you will see a little tuft of smoke. That is your next-door neighbour.' I remember when the Sunday came we had only seen one house, but we came up to a little wooden hut, and outside there were horses standing and we heard music. We scrambled up a ladder, and we found it was a little mission-room, and there were about twenty farmers and their wives and daughters who had come there. They used to come there about once a month. Just think what that meant to them! Let us see to it that the saloon is not the only solace in the wilderness, that the drinking-bar is not the only break in the solitude. Let us give them the chance to associate with their fellow-men within the purlieus of the sanctuary. And when they return to their homes and are once more alone under the eternal skies, they will then have the myriad companionship of the unseen world to comfort them."

The Congregational Quarterly

EDITORIAL

THE new Prime Minister has no easy task, and we await with interest a statement of his policy. Dissensions in his own party, in the Liberal Party—and in the Labour Party, for there are such, though we hear little about them at the moment—are insignificant compared with the attitude to be adopted by the Government in regard to the international situation. Does the inclusion of Lord Robert Cecil in the Ministry mean the adoption of a peace policy in Europe? Does it imply whole-hearted support of the League of Nations instead of "benevolent neutrality," and shall we now send our best men to represent the country on its Council? We must wait and hope.

There are those, we fear, who think that Christians should be content to wait and hope, and that Churches should have nothing to say about plans and policies that jeopardize the future peace of the world. If the Church of Christ were to accept such a reading of her function and to adopt such a passive and pusillanimous attitude we can be as assured that war is inevitable as that the Church's day is done. Every observant visitor to Germany returns with the conviction that France is sowing dragons' teeth with as much thoroughness and speed as possible. Our foreign contributor, the Rev. W. Blackshaw, confirms recent reports that while feeling in Germany is quite friendly to Britain it is becoming ever more inflamed toward France.

What is the Church of Christ to do? Surely not to watch until Europe drifts again into a war the horror of which even our recent experiences do not enable us to imagine. If the Church fails so to influence public opinion that Governments will be obliged to make the League strong enough to solve the Reparations problem and secure a large measure of disarmament, we shall again be plunged into war, if not in this generation, then certainly in the next.

We are glad that Dr. Norwood pointed out during the May meetings that the Congregational Churches are under a special obligation in this matter, and must not let the Peace effort inaugurated by Dr. Jowett fall to the ground. A small step has already been taken by the denomination in the appointment of a Commission

to investigate the teaching of Christianity in regard to war—an investigation which is emphatically well within the range of the Church's function. Young Congregationalists are asking eagerly, persistently, anxiously, what Christians should do in time of war, and it is the duty of the Church to answer their questions, if possible, and not leave the task to politicians, diplomatists, the *Morning Post* and the *Evening News*. The Commission represents all shades of opinion—it includes some of our most militant pacifists and some of our most peaceful warriors—and we trust that its deliberations may prove of service, not only to Congregationalists, but to all Christian people. We commend its work to the sympathy and goodwill of our readers, and trust that they will remember it in their prayers.

* * *

CONGREGATIONALISTM, too, has a new Prime Minister, and we join with Congregationalists throughout the country in offering cordial welcome and congratulation to the Rev. Sidney M. Berry. The denomination is in the mood to respond to wise and vigorous leadership, and it will undoubtedly get this from Mr. Berry, who combines an attractive personality with strength of character and great pulpit gifts. We believe that Congregationalists, old and young, will rally round their new leader, and give him their loyal co-operation and support. Once the Forward Movement is out of the way—and Mr. Berry's advent should mean the raising of the half-million even before May 1925—it will be found that the new Secretary will set our face to the future and give us new tasks that will make the Churches ever more effective instruments in the Kingdom of God.

Meanwhile, it will be generally recognized that *our* Prime Minister too has no easy task. There is a prickly financial nettle to be grasped, and the work of headquarters has to be co-ordinated and developed in a way that will gain the confidence of the Churches. Especially is it necessary that the denomination should make a worthy contribution to the outstanding need of this generation—that of religious education. At present we have an Education Committee that concerns itself entirely with week-day education, a Literature Committee, which is not able to accomplish much for financial reasons, and a Young People's Department, which does concern itself with up-to-date Sunday-school teaching but has a literary output one-tenth the size it should be were we really alive to the needs of the times. We imagine that the publishing department of the Student Movement could reassure those who fear that the development of this side of our work will mean financial loss. Well-written books that meet the modern situation are in great demand, and we hope that Mr. Berry will be able so to guide our Committees on these lines that Congregationalism may render a service for which there is clamant need, and of which it would have no occasion to feel ashamed.

THE world of journalism has experienced many changes during the past quarter, and some of those in the religious sphere it would not be right for us to overlook. The Rev. T. H. Darlow has relinquished the position of Literary Superintendent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, which he has held, with distinction to himself and profit to his readers, for the last twenty-five years. He leaves behind him a monumental work in his Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society, as well as an admirable series of Reports, in which the work of the Society is chronicled with grace and dignity. To write acceptably for men of all creeds and classes for such a period demands Solomon's wisdom and more than Solomon's tact, but by adherence to fundamental themes, Mr. Darlow has been successful, and he has illustrated at the same time how the Bible can be interpreted and expounded so as to appeal to the present age. We wish him a long and fruitful leisure, and look forward to many volumes from his pen.

In Sir William Robertson Nicoll we had one of the most striking personalities and one of the most remarkable bookmen of our time. Through *The Expositor*, *The Bookman*, and *The British Weekly*, he exercised a far-reaching influence, and if he said that it was in his power to make or mar men, he probably said no more than the truth. No man knows all about everything, but Nicoll knew a great deal about men and things, and about books there was very little that he did not know; and even those who differed from him most heartily on matters political and religious were obliged to read what he said and constrained to consider his opinions and respect his judgment.

* * *

MR. SILAS HOCKING is the latest to take part in the interminable discussion of the influence on students of education in general and theological education in particular. He agrees with those who hold that colleges make machines out of men and mould distinctive personalities into uniform shape. A character in a Restoration play, who had been called a scholar, put the same point with Restoration vigour:

> A *Scholar*, Madam? a Scholar's Egg—emptied by old Suck-Eggs of all that nature gave me, and crumbled full of Essences, Hypostases, and other stuff o' their baking.

Why is it that theological colleges have always been a favourite object of ridicule? Baldwin Brown used to say that he learnt two things at college—patience, and how to shave in cold water, the first of which is certainly a "principal subject" for ministers, even if the second is decidedly "subsidiary."

It must be stated, however, that there seems to have been quite as much progress in theological colleges in the last generation as in

other educational institutions, and we do not see in the ministry of to-day any sign of that conformity to type about which so much is said. Dr. Gillie has recently suggested the right remedy in cases where individuality is swamped :

> Sometimes the reason is that the fire is not big enough to consume more than a little fuel. The learning and knowledge gained at a theological college smother the fire. Yet the risk must be run, and the real cure is to make the fire bigger so that the larger supplies of fuel will be all consumed.

And because of, or in spite of, the colleges, there is a simplicity and clarity about preaching that once was absent. No longer is the Gospel clothed in a terminology which only specialists and " saints " can understand. We now recognize that Plato was right, and *φιλόσοφον πλῆθος ἀδύνατον*, and preachers put their views in plain language. Not but that there are some signs of reaction in these days of " new psychology," and our youthful philosophers may take warning from the satire of Father Knox, who describes Canon Dives as speaking thus (one or two sentences from several pages will be more than enough !) :

> Modern philosophy . . . assures us that it is not only our thinkage but our thoughtage that is relative to a thinker. . . . Now when a thing is merely the thoughtage of my thinkage, what does that prove ? Why, nothing, or next to nothing ; merely that it is thinkable. But when it is the thoughtage not only of my thinkage, but of the world-thinkage, then we must needs add, this is thinkworthy. . . .

We have recently heard or read lectures on child psychology that were couched in jargon not unlike this, so perhaps a warning is not impertinent.

* * *

BEHIND the polemics of the platform and the confabs of the committees, the movement of Christians toward each other is steadily proceeding. The greatness of their task combines with the pressure of the time to urge the Churches to act as one, and slowly but surely the edges that were turned towards one another are being blunted or—which is infinitely better—turned against the common enemy. Dr. Maclaren used to say that the Churches had not pulled down the walls that divided them, but they had removed the broken glass from the top. Dr. Jowett, a generation later, said that we were divided not by walls, but by hedges. It remains to be seen what figure will serve a decade hence.

Among the leaders of the Churches the new spirit is abundantly evident, and when it spreads to the rank and file effective co-operation will be possible. The discussions on the revision of the Prayer Book and the use of alternative services do make it plain, however, that there are still many in the Church of England who insist on uniformity. It is among the scholars that the most encouraging attitude is to be

found. The April number of the *Church Quarterly Review* affords a pleasing illustration of this. A stinging notice of an Anglo-Catholic book called *English Sects* says :

> There is an apparent desire to depreciate which can only exasperate if this little book should unfortunately fall into Nonconformist hands. The author has no right to say that Methodists are careless about Baptism, and an unpardonable sneer is contained in his description, otherwise accurate enough, of the Congregational position. He says that according to it "each separate community of believers is an absolutely independent, self-sufficient Church, with full authority—derived apparently from itself—to make and unmake its own ministers"—and so forth. Whether they are right or wrong, Congregationalists hold that the full authority is conferred by Christ Himself, and the assumed ignorance is simply a piece of bad manners.

* * *

THE outstanding event of the May meetings was, of course, the election of the new Secretary. Altogether the meetings were on a high level, and gave abundant proof that Congregationalism is really alive. To many the most impressive utterance of the week was Dr. Donald Frazer's missionary sermon. There spoke a *man*, illustrating from a rich and varied experience the power of the Gospel of Christ. His simple sincere story affected us like that of Dr. Grenfell last October, and while our Assemblies enable us to meet and hear men like these they are not held in vain. Such a man Congregationalism has recently lost in Dr. J. M. Hodgson, of whom it is to be feared the present generation knows but little. As modest as he was learned, Dr. Hodgson shunned the limelight and was not fond of the platform. He preferred to labour, as many in Manchester well remember, for Churches in difficult places, and for his students, who, alike in Lancashire College and at Edinburgh, owed much to him.

* * *

OUR next issue will contain a sketch of Congregationalism in South Africa by the Rev. G. P. Ferguson, M.A. ; some "Irish Memories" by the Rev. C. Fleming Williams, who will next year complete fifty years of ministerial life in London ; a statement of the aims and hopes of "Copec" by the Rev. C. E. Raven, B.D. ; and an historical *résumé* of the relation of Religion and Health by Principal Grieve.

DANIEL DE FOE

(1659–1731)

(1) Novels and Miscellaneous Works, with Life, by George Chalmers, 20 vols., 1840–1.
(2) Life by Walter Wilson, 3 vols., 1830.
(3) Sir Walter Scott. Daniel De Foe, Miscellaneous Prose Works, vol. iv, 1834.
(4) John Forster. Daniel De Foe, Biographical Essays, 1860.
(5) William Lee. Life and Newly discovered Writings, 3 vols., 1869.
(6) William Minto. Life, 1 vol., 1879.
(7) Thomas Wright. Life, 1 vol., 1894.

NOTHING can well be imagined more derogatory to the status and dignity of any branch of the Christian Church than for it to appear to boast of the intellectual calibre of any of its adherents, living or dead. Sanctity, not Intellect, is a note of the True Church, and consequently the humblest saint must always rank higher in the congregation of the righteous than the nimblest of wits, or the most solid of secular reputations. It is just because John Bunyan possesses this saintly note that he is more of a credit to the Baptists than can John Milton ever be to the Independents.

Yet, as Human Nature cannot be altogether expelled from our "large compositions," it is sometimes a little hard for Nonconformists who are often supposed, by those who know little of the annals of Dissent, to be cut adrift from the main current of English life, to avoid whispering half-aloud the names of some of the great National Intelligences belonging to their folds who have done as much as any to mould the minds, feed the fancies, and form the tastes of the far-flung English-speaking race.

If Nonconformists are to be blamed (as perhaps they should be) for occasionally flaunting an "ostentatious feather" of this kind, they may (if so disposed) shelter themselves behind the corresponding weakness of their elder sister, the Church of Rome, who, not content with her great slice of the world's history, may at times be observed sniggering with an ill-concealed complacency over a brace or two of recent "converts" whom she credits with rather more than the average stock of brains.

So far as the distinguished Nonconformist whose famous name heads this paper is concerned, no well-informed Dissenter of the present day is likely to make too much fuss over his Nonconformity, for, brave man as he was, no odour of sanctity clings to the memory of Daniel De Foe.

And yet what Nonconformist can be expected to forget that

the boy who sat in his father's pew in Dr. Annesley's Chapel in Bishopsgate, and as a man preached in Dissenting meeting-houses in Tooting and Bury St. Edmunds, became the author of *Robinson Crusoe*?

If the authorship of *Robinson Crusoe* is not an achievement ranking with any of the most glorious events in English history, we shall need to be told what is an achievement, and what is English history.

It is perhaps just possible to conceive an England without the character of Falstaff, but it is flatly impossible to conceive an English boyhood spent during the last two hundred years without Crusoe and his Man Friday (with his searching and still unanswered question, "why God not kill the Devil?"), without the boy Xury and the shoulder-of-mutton sail, without the footprint on the sand, and those ever-recurring "pieces of eight."

A book like *Robinson Crusoe* "brooks no rival near its throne." Just as *The Pilgrim's Progress* has wellnigh extinguished *The Holy War*, so has the world-wide fame of *Robinson Crusoe* sounded the doom of the other two hundred and fifty-four publications that proceeded from the teeming brain and unresting pen of Daniel De Foe. And yet amongst these books and pamphlets are to be found such masterpieces as the *History of the Plague in London* and the *Memoirs of a Cavalier*, not to mention those "Romances of Roguery" (the phrase is Scott's, so I must let it pass unchallenged), and those "Wanderings in the Land of Thiefdom" (the phrase is Charles Lamb's), *Moll Flanders*, *Roxana*, and *Colonel Jack*.

The reader must not attribute to me the *bêtise* of suggesting that no one nowadays reads the lesser works of De Foe, or gather that I am ungrateful enough to think slightingly of the wonderful excavations and discoveries of Mr. Lee, who, so lately as 1869, has filled two stout volumes with hitherto uncollected and unidentified writings of the first, and perhaps the most versatile, of all English journalists worthy of the name. I swear by the dear memory of the old woman on London Bridge (so precious to all lovers of *Lavengro*) that I am guiltless of such stupidity; but for all that, wherever the name of De Foe is whispered, whether in the Bodleian or in Mr. Mudie's shop, the thoughts of all, old and young, lettered and simple, who are within hearing, turn to a desert island and to a solitary figure wearing "a great high shapeless hat," and a short jacket "with breeches made of the skin of an old he-goat," and dwell upon some or other of the deeply ingrained and "surprising" adventures of "Robinson Crusoe of York, Mariner," who dwelt "all alone" on that island for eight-and-twenty years.

It would be quite in keeping with the spirit of the age were I to stop here to inquire whether we are sure that De Foe *was* the author of this wonder-working book. It was published anonymously

in 1719, when De Foe was fifty-eight years old, a mature age for the author of the best boy's book that was ever written. The manuscript has disappeared for good and all—otherwise it would surely be in Mr. Huntingdon's Library in California—and, what is still more significant, immediately after its publication the report arose that it was the work of Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, then in the Tower, with his head in danger. It was known that De Foe had visited his patron in his captivity, and what more natural than that the Earl should have entrusted his manuscript for publication to one so well acquainted with " the trade " as the man who had lately stood in the pillory.

I merely mention this ridiculous rumour, which Mr. Lee had no difficulty in dispersing into thin air, because he does not include among his reasons for disbelief the one that ought to have been mentioned first of all, namely the total incapacity of Harley to have written a single line of *Robinson Crusoe.*

In all disputed questions of authorship, the best and final arbiter is Literary Taste. If Harley could, even to save his life, have written *Robinson Crusoe,* or Bacon, to save his honour, *Measure for Measure,* we might as well tear the title-pages out of all the books in the Library, and maintain that they were one and all written by a long series of mad-wags, already known in literature as " Mr. Anon."

Books are not yet composed by machinery, for even in the suspicious case of our great modern novel-manufactory there is always a man or a woman in or at each of the machines. Therefore, unless Harley wrote *all* De Foe's books, we may even in these days dismiss his claim, and pass on our way, only marvelling that any man, after such a life as De Foe's, could write such a book as *Robinson Crusoe* at the age of fifty-eight.

I suppose I should not be forgiven if I failed to provide for those of my readers who possess memories as treacherous as old Mrs. Shandy's a handful of dates and a few of the facts, so far as they are known, of the mysterious life of one of the most puzzling and elusive figures in literary history.

The author of *Robinson Crusoe* was born (such is now the better opinion) in 1659, at the close of the Protectorate of Richard Cromwell, in Fore Street, in the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate. His father, James Foe (for the " De " is a Balzacian prefix of the son) carried on the unromantic business of a butcher, and attended, until the Disruption of 1662, the Parish Church, under the cure of the well-known Dr. Annesley, who became the grandfather of John and Charles Wesley. In 1662 Dr. Annesley was ejected from this living, and James Foe and his family followed him to his new meeting-house in Bishopsgate. James Foe, like Crusoe's father (for we must never altogether forget that *Robinson Crusoe* is in a queer, quite un-

accountable way, an autobiography) was " a wise and grave " man, and also one able and ready to give his son as good an education as was then to be had anywhere in England. Whether any great improvement has been made in this matter since 1670 is doubtful.

Daniel's school education was received at a well-known Dissenting academy on Newington Green, then presided over by an ejected Cornish rector of the name of Morton, who, being afterwards driven out of England by persecution, went to America, then (though even then, in a limited sense) the Land of Freedom, ultimately becoming Vice-President of Harvard.

It was the intention of the father to make a Dissenting minister of his son, but this was not to be. Many years afterwards De Foe in one of his *Reviews* remarked :

> It is not often that I trouble you with any of my divinity—the pulpit is none of my office. It was my disaster, first to be set apart for, then to be set apart from, the honour of that sacred employ.

Notwithstanding this disclaimer, no one acquainted with De Foe's utilization of all the experiences of his life will be surprised to hear that Dissenting academies come in for a good deal of criticism in his occasional writings, though he always speaks of Morton with affection and deep respect. Some of these criticisms are still interesting and worthy of notice.

He tells us that many students were sent to these academies more from charity than fitness, and so became what he calls " Fund Bred," and that, owing to the lack of libraries and " polite conversation," they often displayed in after life more pedantry than learning, and were frequently required to submit to degrading practices to obtain congregations. De Foe refers, somewhat feelingly for him, to the fact that eminent ministers were called from all parts of the kingdom to London, being induced to come by mercenary considerations ; and he goes on to say that the behaviour of the congregations to the ministers who were dependent upon them was often objectionable, and that while many young London ministers were destitute, others " even from Scotland " found acceptance in the Metropolis, before having received any formal ordination.

De Foe undoubtedly received an excellent education on Newington Green. We are called upon to hear a good deal about this " education " of his, for the only accusation that ever made De Foe really angry was the charge of illiteracy. The best-abused author in the vilest language that ever lived in England, he never returned " railing for railing." " Silence," he wisely observes, " is the utmost slight Nature can dictate, and the most insupportable for a vain man to endure." There was, however, one hole in De Foe's otherwise impenetrable armour—he had but to be called " illiterate," and out comes the whole story of his education, which, if it was quite

as good as he asserts it to have been, reflects great credit upon Mr. Morton.

De Foe knew Latin very well, and says he could read Greek easily. He was not ignorant of Mathematics, and was amazingly well versed in English History, both anecdotal and constitutional. He could speak French, Spanish and Italian, and had also some Dutch. Of the four great English writers alive at this time, Addison, Steele, Swift, and De Foe, the last named was the widest read.

De Foe probably remained at the Newington Academy until his nineteenth year (1678) when, having abandoned the notion of the ministry, he became a hosier or hose-factor, and was frequently referred to in days to come by his numerous enemies as the " Civet Cat Merchant," though what a cat has to do with hose I know not. It was probably the sign of his shop or place of business.

In 1683 he got married, and two years later this valiant hosier took part, in company with three former fellow-students, in the Monmouth rising, and narrowly escaped the scaffold, on which his three companions perished. Having thus escaped Judge Jeffreys, he came back to London, and took up residence at Tooting, where he formed a Dissenting congregation, and occasionally occupied the pulpit.

The Revolution made De Foe very happy, but his absorbing interest in politics, both home and foreign, ruined the " Civet Cat," and he failed for £17,000. Henceforward De Foe was a great authority on the Law of Bankruptcy. De Foe, though he assures us he kept faith with his old creditors, never quite got quit of them, and one or two of the more relentless seem to have pursued him for many years. Careful readers of that most melancholy of all books, Sir Walter Scott's *Journal*, may remember how the author of *Waverley* was almost driven out of his senses by one recalcitrant English creditor, who refused to come into the settlement that secured to Sir Walter the use of the Abbotsford Library, and thus enabled him at the cost of his life and almost of his intellect to pay everybody in full.

After failing as a hosier and refusing an offer to go to Cadiz and make a fortune, we next find De Foe secretary to a manufactory of bricks and pantiles near Tilbury Fort, where he lived in style, keeping a coach and a pleasure-boat, and consorting, with his usual reckless freedom, with all kinds of lawless riverside folk. During this time, whilst making bricks, he was also making poetry, for De Foe was the author of seventeen long poems, one, *Jure Divino*, being in twelve books. He is responsible for more " verses " than either Milton or Dryden, and of this output perhaps twenty lines may be reckoned immortal, in the sense of still being on men's lips. Unlike many far better poets, he never wrote sheer nonsense.

For William the Third De Foe had an admiration quite as intense as Lord Macaulay's, and this though he had seen his idol in the flesh. No praise was too great for Dutch William—

the best of monarchs and the best of men.

Burnet, it will be remembered, also declared William to be free of vices, on which Swift in a manuscript note in his copy of the Bishop's History, caustically observes that if indeed William was thus free, it could only be in the sense in which a man is said to be " free of a corporation."

But however this may be, De Foe doted on our Dutchman, to whom he was introduced in 1694, and, being a great horticulturist, he assisted Queen Mary in laying out the Gardens of Kensington Palace. The most spirited of De Foe's poetical satires—*The True Born Englishman* (1701)—was inspired by his disgust with those time-servers who, after the great man's death, reviled him and his friends as " foreigners."

The accession of Queen Anne, who never forgot she was a Stuart, was a serious blow to De Foe's restless political ambitions, and we must now submit ourselves to seeing the future author of *Robinson Crusoe* standing in the pillory as the writer of that " scandalous and seditious pamphlet " *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters* (1702).

John Forster, in his admirable sketch of De Foe's career, goes so far as to say of this pamphlet that he doubts " if a finer specimen of serious irony exists in the language." Mr. Lee and Mr. Wright and others are of the same opinion. For my part I cannot discover the faintest trace of irony in any part of it. It is a plain, blunt, brutal record of the savage talk of the " High-fliers " of the day as they yelled in all the Tory coffee-houses for the blood of the Dissenters. If *The Shortest Way* is irony, the humblest member of the present Administration could be an ironist to-morrow. You have but to read the title-page of one of Swift's real bits of irony and compare it with De Foe, and you will see the difference at a glance : " An Argument to prove that the Abolishing of Christianity in England may, as things now stand, be attended with some Inconveniences, and perhaps not produce the many good effects proposed thereby."

Here indeed, lurking in every line, is irony, delicious and wellnigh inimitable. The fact is that irony, properly so called, is nowhere to be found in any of De Foe's downright, go-a-head compositions.

At first the Tories thought the pamphlet excellent, sound, sense, and congratulated themselves in having secured so outspoken an ally, and it was only when they discovered from others that they had been badly " bit," and that the pamphlet was not intended to persuade but to disgust, that they clamoured for vengeance. De Foe was prosecuted vigorously by the then Attorney-General, Simon Harcourt,

and, having been advised to throw himself upon the mercy of the Court, was sentenced to pay a large fine, to stand thrice in the pillory, and to be imprisoned in Newgate during the Queen's pleasure. Irony, real or supposed, does not "pay" in England. Even an early publication of Burke's, being carefully conceived in this vein, was taken seriously for many years, until indeed it ceased to be read.

One good thing resulted from this prosecution; it has supplied us with a pen-and-ink portrait of the author of *Robinson Crusoe*.

Whereas Daniel De Foe, alias De Fooe, is charged with writing a scandalous and seditious pamphlet entitled *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters*. He is a middle-aged spare man about forty years old, of a brown complexion, and dark-brown coloured hair, but wears a wig; a hooked nose, a sharp chin, grey eyes and a large mole near his mouth, was born in London, and for many years was a hose-factor in Freeman's Yard in Cornhill, and now is the owner of the brick and pantile works, near Tilbury Fort in Essex. Whoever shall discover the said Daniel Foe &c. shall have a reward of £50!

De Foe was allowed twenty days' grace in Newgate before standing in the pillory, first in Cornhill, then in Cheapside, and lastly at Temple Bar.

The indefatigable prisoner utilized his days of grace in Newgate in preparing, and seeing through the press, two works—one, in prose, entitled *The Shortest Way to Peace and Union*, the other, in verse, his celebrated *Hymn to the Pillory* (1703), which contains the stanza:

> Tell them the men that placed him here
> Are scandals to the Times,
> Are at a loss to find his Guilt
> And can't commit his crimes.

This Hymn was distributed *gratis* to the crowd, who cheered the plucky poet. To stand in the pillory, if (there is much virtue in this "if") the mob was friendly, was not in 1703 quite as bad as it sounds or looks in contemporary prints.

> Earless on high stood unabashed De Foe.

So sang the spiteful author of *The Dunciad*, who, clever as he was, went not a little wrong when he placed Bentley and De Foe among his dunces!

De Foe's ears were not shorn, or even sheared. In this respect he fared better than his predecessor in the same plight, Prynne, the tips of whose ears were neatly removed, thus condemning the author of *Histrio Mastix* thenceforth to wear a silk skull cap.

De Foe was kept in Newgate for eighteen months, where, so far from "languishing," as one is usually supposed to do in prison, he divided his time between scribbling for the Press and chatting

with his brother felons about their past lives. Prison discipline was apparently easier, in many respects, two hundred and twenty years ago than it is to-day.

It was in Newgate, on February 19, 1704, that De Foe began his famous *Review*, a weekly publication which he continued, all unaided, until June 11, 1713. De Foe's *Review* may fairly claim to be the forerunner of this kind of journalism in England. Its main object was instruction and amusement, but at the same time it contrived to give a considerable amount of annoyance to the Tories; and particularly to that fiery and very lively writer Charles Leslie, described by Mr. Wright as "the learned and dangerous Leslie the High Church St. Dominic." As a piece of "one man journalism," De Foe's *Review* is a remarkable performance and can still be read by anyone (who has learnt the art of skipping) with both profit and amusement.

Queen Anne's death was also a blow to De Foe's ambitions, for she had at least provided the money that paid his fine, and got him out of Newgate. He had by this time found in Harley a firm friend, and also a regular pay-master. De Foe, though well content to work behind the scenes, was a far more useful personage than most of the better-paid and titled actors, who played their parts before the curtain; and to say that he was at least as honest would indeed be the shabbiest of compliments. He undoubtedly, in his frequent semi-official visits to Scotland, helped forward the only Act of Union England has ever been able to effect that has redounded to the honour and credit of all parties. On this great subject De Foe composed a long poem (in folio), several pamphlets, and in 1709 *A History of the Union*, a folio of 685 pages!

In April 1713 De Foe was in Newgate again awaiting his trial for composing in a style he perhaps supposed to be ironical, three pamphlets entitled respectively, *Reasons against the Succession of the House of Hanover*; *And what if the Pretender should come?* and *An Answer to a Question that Nobody thinks of, viz. What if the Queen should die?*

Whatever we may think of De Foe's ironical style, all will admit that it was highly ironical for one of the staunchest Hanoverians in the realm to be clapped into prison as a Jacobite; and yet this is what happened to De Foe, and in Newgate he remained from April to November, when his friend Harley procured for him a pardon under the Great Seal. His *Review* ended, as it had begun, in prison.

Until 1865, when some letters of De Foe were discovered in the State Paper Office, it was assumed that somewhere about 1717 he ceased to be an active political scribe, and devoted his ever restless pen to the production of his novels and histories and other treatises. The discovery of these letters, and their contents, set Mr. Lee to work, and he, with a patience almost incredible and after

tedious labour, brought to light a mass of hitherto uncollected and unidentified writings contributed to such forgotten worthless prints as *Mist's Weekly Journal* and *Dormer's Letter* and other papers connected or supposed to be connected with Jacobites, Papists and enraged High Churchmen. De Foe, it also now appears, was a frequent contributor to a paper called *Mercurius Politicus*, and to another, known as *Applebees Journal*, both of which professed Tory principles, though of a milder hue. How, the reader may well ask, did De Foe squeeze himself into that galley? The answer, put bluntly, must be, as a spy in the pay of the Government. Though this is, I fear, the only answer that can be made, the transaction—though discreditable to the character for straightforwardness of the future author of *Robinson Crusoe*—is not as bad as it sounds, for when his contributions to these "rags" are read, they will not be found to contain anything inconsistent with De Foe's Hanoverian principles. De Foe seems to have made use of his quasi-editorial position on these papers first to keep out many dangerous and inflammatory articles, and then to introduce into their columns a good deal of sensible Whiggish doctrine. I must be allowed to express my own doubt whether Mr. Mist, that unlucky, sorely pressed, and impecunious scribbler, was ever hoodwinked into the belief that his able and influential co-editor was of the same way of political thinking as himself. But it is not an agreeable episode in De Foe's life, though when Mr. Lee's two volumes are read—and I suspect they seldom have been read with any diligence—they will be found to contain much useful and entertaining information, with nothing of the "spy" about them.

In April 1719 appeared the first part of *Robinson Crusoe*. Printed by W. Taylor at the Ship in Paternoster Row. The first edition, *in a clean copy*, is now a scarce and costly book. Mr. Taylor a few months earlier had registered the volume "as his copy" at Stationers' Hall. It at once took the town, the fourth edition appearing in August. Whether Mr. Taylor gave De Foe anything for *Robinson Crusoe*, either "down" or "on account," I do not know. If he did, it must have been under the terms of a bargain between the registered owner of the copyright and the author, of which there is no record. De Foe can hardly be described in 1719 as an inexperienced author. That Taylor's bargain, whatever it may have been, was a good one for him is certain, and the tradition of the "trade," which has come down to us, is that the publisher rebuilt his premises in the "Row" out of the profits of *Robinson Crusoe*.

The book was at once pirated and, what annoyed the author most, *abridged*, for in those days abridgements were not regarded as infringements of copyright. It was also somewhat spitefully criticized by Gildon, who asked, "How could Crusoe fill his pockets with biscuits when he was naked?" De Foe, without a word, in

the next edition put his hero into breeches, and when the critic, pursuing his advantage, alleged that the pockets in a seaman's breeches were too small for the purpose, it was generally thought that he had been sufficiently answered.

A dull print called *The Original London Post* had the "original" idea of reprinting the whole book as a serial and running it through the paper in no less than 164 numbers. What a delightful surprise *Robinson Crusoe* must have been to the usual readers of the *Original London Post*! Farington's diary cannot compare with it.

These lawless proceedings made De Foe angry, and he became an authority on the Law of Copyright as erst on the Law of Bankruptcy.

Mr. Wright, in his accurate and vivacious *Life of De Foe*, full of whimsical fancies and unexpected turns of expression, tells us that in all probability *Robinson Crusoe* was the first English novel that ever appeared as a serial in a newspaper, a bit of curious literary history that would have given De Foe no pleasure. De Foe was the last man to spoil a market, and before four months were over he had the Second Part ready for Mr. Taylor, who published it in August 1719. De Foe's Preface is so characteristic that I must give an extract from it;

> The Second Part,
> if the Editor's opinion may pass, is (contrary to the usage of second parts) every way as entertaining as the first; contains as strange and surprising incidents, and as great a variety of them; nor is the application less serious or suitable; and doubtless will, to the sober as well as ingenious reader, be every way as profitable and diverting; and this makes the abridging of this work as scandalous, as it is knavish and ridiculous.

The Second Part, whether as good as the First or not, is certainly beyond the level of most second parts, and enjoyed almost as great an immediate popularity as the First Part had done.

Next year (1720) out came a Third Part, entitled *Serious Reflections during the Life and Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, with his Vision of the Angelic World.*

Mr. Lee thinks very highly of this Third Part; on the other hand, Sir Walter Scott thought very poorly of it, and makes it the subject of some apposite remarks about authors who are ill-advised enough to try to repeat their former triumphs. I am sorry to have to admit that, as I have never come across these *Serious Reflections*, I do not know what to say about them. They fell very flat at the time, and have never recovered themselves since.

Here I must stop; for though De Foe was destined to live eleven years after 1720 (thus out-living his patron Harley, who died in 1724), and to produce some celebrated and remarkable books, as well as

a large body of first-rate, and still interesting, journalistic matter, his latter days are too gloomy and depressing for me to write about. The last snuff of the candle is never pleasant. His two sons were disappointments, though he had for his consolation two daughters, in whose society he seems to have found some comfort.

He died disconsolate and troubled. Peace of mind was probably never his lot. Yet when the end came on April 26, 1731, in his seventy-second year, in his lodging in Rope Makers' Walk, Moorfields, he was not wholly neglected. He was buried in that mausoleum of Dissent, Bunhill Fields, and was briefly—but who will say inadequately?—described, on "a mean stone," as "Daniel De Foe, Author of Robinson Crusoe."[1]

AUGUSTINE BIRRELL.

[1] Mr. Wright tells us that when the grave was visited in 1858 this stone was lying broken and the inscription obliterated. In 1870 a marble pillar, standing seventeen feet high, with an almost identical inscription, was placed upon the spot, as the result of an appeal "to the boys and girls of England," an appeal which was probably answered by their parents.

APPRECIATIONS

I. DILLMANN: A CENTENARY MEMORIAL

1. A HUNDRED years ago, on April 25, 1823, was born a seer, August Dillmann. In his threescore years and ten—he died in 1894—he wrought the resurrection of the almost entirely lost Semitic language of Ethiopia with its treasures of literature. He created a modern Ethiopic Grammar, a Lexicon, a Chrestomathy, besides publishing many Ethiopic works and translations of them. English travellers, and especially Bruce in 1773, had discovered abundant venerable MSS. in the Abyssinian churches and monasteries, where they had lain, forgotten by all the rest of the world, ever since the days of Augustine. Bruce brought several of these MSS. to our English libraries, the chief being *The Apocalypses of Enoch*, written just about the year of the birth of Jesus and quoted, by the way, in Jude; another was *The Book of Jubilees*, or *The Little Genesis*, a Pharisee-writing of, say, 100 B.C.; and another, *The Clementines* (so-called), an early Christian work. Copies of nearly the whole Old Testament in Ethiopic also came to us.

2. Young Dillmann, at the University of Tübingen, in 1845, guided by H. Ewald, had prepared a prize essay on "The Close of the Canon of the Old Testament," and in his researches for this his keen vision had felt how sadly the recently discovered *Enoch* had been left out of the Bible Canon. He saw how that Book could help us to knowledge of the people of Jesus's time, and to a close intimacy with the thoughts of our Lord Himself. In that realization there shone the light, there breathed the inspiration, there awoke the purpose that filled Dillmann's life. He made the Ethiopian language and literature his very own; and, bringing these to our understanding, he has made Jesus ours in entirely new and ever-increasing richness. As our great English master of Ethiopic, Charles, tells us in his *Pseudepigrapha*, the *Book of Jubilees* is an indispensable guide for the student of the rise of Christianity, and Enoch's *Apocalypses* show us the development of that side of Judaism which produced Jesus and Christianity. Without these Ethiopic treasures we cannot really know our own religion, our salvation, our Saviour. Thus by this Centenary Memorial we are not merely celebrating the life-work of a scholar: we are singing a *Te Deum* over the exaltation of Him who said: "I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto Me." August Dillmann's sacred service and saintly devotion are going to help us ere long to fill our churches.

3. From 1847 till 1869 his publications concerned chiefly Ethiopic works. Then he turned to Old Testament expositions; and after starting very naturally with JOB, as virtually an Arabic poem, he issued commentaries on GENESIS, etc., up to KINGS, and finally on ISAIAH and ECCLESIASTES, returning in this last to his original Apocalyptic loves. Some persons have said that Dillmann opposed the modern theories, the analysis and historical results of present-day criticism. No greater mistake could be made, as the opening pages of his *Genesis* and the closing section of his *Joshua* prove. He had indeed certain ways of his own: he did not use the well-known symbols "J," "E," and "P," so universally employed to-day. What others call "P" he indicates by "A," because it begins the Book of Genesis; for "E" he prefers the letter "B," and "J" he calls "C." But all along he makes virtually the same analysis as do Wellhausen, Colenso, Bacon, Bennett, and the host of others; indeed, if anything, he is a more severely and strictly critical analyst than they. He prefers different dates from those generally accepted now (e.g. Bennett's—J, 900–800 B.C.; E, *c.* 700 B.C.; P, 450 B.C.), which is perfectly natural, since his work was ended thirty years ago, when he was already far on in age.

4. It is well to add here that students of his commentaries will echo the testimony of the late Dr. Witton Davies, in his biography in the *Expository Times* for 1895, that Dillmann was one of the most deeply devout in all that long list of saintly teachers of the Old Testament, now gone to their rest, who were singularly noted for their devotion to Jesus and to Evangelization by Sunday-schools and by Foreign Missions. It was their singularly Christlike character that sustained them amid their difficult, lonely, suspected toil.

5. We turn back to Dillmann's Ethiopic work: verily it was massive. He published in 1847 his Catalogue of Ethiopic MSS. in the British Museum, and in 1848 his list of those in the Bodleian. In 1851 he issued his *Enoch* in Ethiopic; in 1853 his translation of it into German; in 1855 his *Books of Genesis to Ruth* in Ethiopic; then in 1857 came his Grammar, which was virtually the first of the sort; in 1859 his Ethiopic *Book of Jubilees*; in 1865 his Lexicon; and in 1866 his Chrestomathy. Later, and indeed all along his years, he was constantly issuing other shorter prints.

6. We said above that he turned his earliest toil to the restoration of the lost Ethiopian tongue and its writings, because he saw that in this way he could know and make known so much of the lost life of Judæa and of the mind of our Lord. But we ask why the books were lost in all lands save in far-away Ethiopia? Here was the cause: the Canon of the Old Testament was drawn up in the Sanhedrim in A.D. 100 under the almost absolute control of the Pharisees. These men, as Charles points out in his *Pseudepigrapha*, "dropped and banned" every apocalyptic writing that

might lessen the supreme exaltation of the "Mosaic Torah." So they "dropped and banned" the Septuagint! Then, strangely enough, the early Christians, in their childlike simplicity, took their ideas of canonicity from those controlling men of the Sanhedrim; and by Augustine's time *Enoch* and much else, not being in the Canon, were suspected and left unused by the Church authorities. Only in far-off Abyssinia were the mind and hand of those authorities so feeble that these precious books continued in use all along the centuries. Dillmann has taken away this "offence of the cross"; he has restored the lost treasures. And now he has been followed most brilliantly by our English Charles and his fellow-scholars. All this shows that we are in the dawn of a Day of Knowledge of Jesus; and Dillmann sounded the trumpet note of awakening. Well may we chant our *Te Deum* of Centenary Memorial over the life and work of August Dillmann.

A. Duff.

II. FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH

Some months ago the British Press announced the death of a German Professor who in his time reached great heights of glory—Friedrich Delitzsch, the Assyriologist—who about twenty years ago had received the admiration of no less a person than the then Kaiser.

Friedrich was the son of the old Delitzsch, the illustrious and pious Old Testament Professor at Leipzig, if I remember aright. He had specialized in the new science which had sprung up after the discoveries of Schrader, and had made a name for himself in the scientific world by publishing his *Assyrisches Wörter-buch*—the dictionary without which no Assyriologist could work—his short Grammar on the same subject, his *Assyrische Lesestücke*, and many other technical writings on the Assyrian and Babylonian languages.

But the hour of fame came to him when he gave his first lecture under the title of "Babel und Bibel." Strange to say, this technical *exposé* kindled a fire which ran over the whole of Germany and nearly over the world—at least, the philological and theological world. Pamphlets on "Babel und Bibel" sprang up like mush-rooms, and Delitzsch was savagely attacked, perhaps not so much because he had made a public lecture on a scientific subject as because he had received the support of the Emperor, who expressed his admiration in a letter widely published.

On the other hand, it must be said that the views of this Assyriologist on Biblical science did not tally with those of the theological world. These differences of view would no doubt have passed almost unnoticed had not His Imperial Majesty given

to them his official patronage. Apparently the Kaiser was greatly impressed by the personality of Hammurabi, as he associated this Babylonian monarch with Jesus Christ and with his glorious grandfather, Wilhelm the First, as typical geniuses of humanity. I remember the second lecture given by Delitzsch in the "Charlottenburger-Musikhochschule," which was attended by the Kaiser (in full uniform) and his brilliant staff of officers. There they sat in the first rows, with Delitzsch ejaculating his subject, not without emotion, before so impressive an audience.

What struck me in the lectures was his enthusiasm and his intense desire to relate nearly the whole of history, art, and theology to his pet subject, Assyriology. He was so engrossed with it that he could easily enthuse others. There they sat in the Lecture Hall—Germans, Americans, Swiss, and even a Japanese. We felt, of course, that his use of analogy was sometimes rather dangerous, but then the man was so genuine, kind, hospitable, and enthusiastic that we could not help liking him, even though we did not always accept his somewhat wild theories.

And now he has gone to his peace, and strange to say the present generation in Germany seems to know nothing about one who twenty years ago stood on the pinnacle of Imperial favour. Has the downfall of the Kaiser dragged his beloved scholar into the night of oblivion? A friend I asked to do so was unable to find any mention whatsoever of his work in any of the important Berlin papers. In several large academical bookstores no one seemed to know that he was dead. In the Imperial Library, "Unter den Linden," nothing was recorded, and even at the Oriental Seminary the "Oberregierungsrat" had read nothing on Delitzsch's death, and sent my friend to the Asia Minor Museum, concealed behind many doors and prohibited passages in one of the inner yards between the "Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum" and the National Gallery. There at last someone said that a detailed article was to appear in a technical paper, but that otherwise nothing important had been printed. *Sic transit gloria mundi.*

R. Hoffmann-de-Visme.

THE MIND OF PAUL

In recent years we have witnessed a remarkable change in the way in which the Pauline theology is regarded by its students and critics. At one time it was taken for granted, especially by Protestant theologians, that we have in the Pauline Epistles the systematic exposition of a stereotyped body of doctrine operating with clean-cut categories. The task of exegesis, therefore, was to explain the letters from the point of view of a complete and logical structure of thought, known as "Paulinism." The tendency of recent study, however, has been to cast considerable doubt upon the validity of this mode of procedure. It is now recognized that the Epistles are not rightly regarded as theological treatises. They are genuine letters, springing out of the exigencies of the intercourse between a missionary and his converts. For the most part they are practical in their motive; they are not intended for publication, still less for professed students of theology. The circumstances of their composition are not such that the writer is called upon to give a complete and systematic account of his thinking. Usually he is concerned to throw light upon specific problems with a view to edification, and these problems are often of a personal and practical character. It is therefore felt by Deissmann [1] and others that it is futile to attempt, on the basis of occasional writings such as these, to build a dogmatic system of "Paulinism."

Moreover, when we approach the Pauline letters without dogmatic presuppositions, we find it impossible to close our eyes to the frequent occurrence of hiatus, contradiction and inconclusive dialectic. We come upon concepts derived from distinct and often mutually exclusive thought-systems; these concepts often seem to lack precision; their meaning is so fluid and elastic that the Apostle can pass from one to another unconsciously. These phenomena suggest [2] that Paul's mind as he writes the letters is not working with fixed and logical categories, but that he just throws down those expressions which will suffice to indicate his thought for the time being, without staying to consider whether he has not used them in some entirely different sense elsewhere. We are to regard Paul as a creature of moods, who dashes down his thoughts under the influence of momentary impressions. It is wrong, therefore, to piece together his individual statements, determined as they are by transient feelings, in order to form them into a system. What we see in the letters

[1] *Light from the Ancient East*, 233–4; *St. Paul*, ch. i.
[2] To some writers, e.g., Holtzmann, *Neutestamentliche Theologie*, II, 8–9.

" is not the unchanging marble bust of Paulinism, but the living Paul in different moods."[1]

We are therefore urged to regard Paul not in the first place as a theological genius, but rather as a great prophetic personality, whose ardent, enthusiastic, audacious and restless nature is entirely incapable of being confined within the four corners of a clear-cut system. In treating him as a mere theologian we miss what is really characteristic of his genius, viz. the prophetic force of his religious experience and the tremendous energy of his practical piety. " What is best in Paul belongs not to Theology but to Religion."[2]

Indeed, some would go so far as to say that the preaching of Paul " moves outside the sphere of the intellect " altogether, and consists merely of impulsive outbursts of an intuitive character, the work of feeling rather than of thought. Pfleiderer,[3] for example, reminds us that the Apostle " expressly testifies of himself that his speech was not with persuasive words of (scholastic) wisdom, but in the demonstration of the spirit and of power; that his word was not of man, but of God; not learnt from human wisdom, but from the Spirit which we have received from God." Hence the Pauline theology is not the result of reflection, but of intuition, which is more akin to the work of the artist than to that of the scientific thinker.

Intuitional thinking of this kind carries with it a great force of immediate conviction, but is bound to be weak on the side of logic. It gives expression with extraordinary vividness to the mood which dominates the mind at the moment, and for that very reason is apt to be " subjective, one-sided, aphoristic, inconsistent." The different elements of truth are presented not in their mutual relations, but as each dominates the mind to the exclusion of all else at a particular moment. Hence they can only be expressed " in the utterances of the inspired prophet and Apostle in a fragmentary form, and subject to many inconsistencies and obscurities."

Deissmann[4] is among those who consider that Paul is more rightly understood as a prophet than as a theologian. He admits that Paul was trained in theological methods and made use of them in his preaching, but denies that the Apostle is to be classed with Origen, Thomas Aquinas, and Schleiermacher. The tent-weaver of Tarsus finds his real place side by side with the herdman of Tekoa, the shoe-maker of Görlitz (Jacob Böhme), and the ribbon-weaver of Mülheim (Gerhard Tersteegen).

> " Are we really listening to the pulsations of his heart? " asks Deissmann, " when we hear him interpret allegorically the story of Hagar and Sarah? Are we not infinitely nearer

[1] Deissmann, *St. Paul*, 15–16.
[2] *Primitive Christianity*, 105–6.
[3] *Ibid.*, 6.
[4] *Light from the Ancient East*, 387–8.

to his soul, his personality, the best that is in him, when we behold him on his knees, crushed, annihilated, and new-created by the grace of his God? His sentences concerning the Law—are they calm pointed theses for a theological debate, or are they not rather confessions of a tortured and liberated soul? Is Paul the inventor of a dogma of Christ, or is he not rather the witness of the Christ experienced by him? Is the glory of the Living One to him a theory thought out in the study, or was it not rather flashed out upon him in a sacred hour of revelation? It is therefore the religion of Paul rather than his theology that matters. His theology is largely Rabbinic, and vanishes with Rabbinism into the limbo of forgotten things. But the religion of the Apostle—his experience of the Living Christ as the divine power that recreates men both morally and spiritually—this is his great discovery, a discovery that is reached not along the lines of speculative theology, but through the warm and thrilling intimacies of experience."

This judgment of the priority of Paul's religion to his theology is shared by many modern writers.[1] A sharp contrast is drawn between the Apostle's theology—a theology which is merely provisional, abounding in hiatus and inconsistency, and betraying imperfect assimilation of diverse and even contradictory elements—and his religion—a religion which, as a profound and significant unity, reveals the man and does justice to his personality. We must be on our guard, however, against the tendency to make too much of this contrast. Whatever the inadequacies and inconsistencies of Paul's theology may be, it is none the less a real attempt on his part to make his religious experience intelligible, and it is not always easy to say exactly where the one ends and the other begins. He had passed through a tremendous spiritual crisis, which changed for him the whole meaning of life. As a Christian missionary he had to expound what was involved in his conversion in order to get others to share it. He had to face the question as to how his experience was related to the death and resurrection of Jesus on the one hand, and to the Jewish Law on the other. The conclusions reached on these points had to be defended against bitter opposition. In working out his thoughts he could do no other but use such categories as were provided by his training in the Jewish schools and by his general environment. Such categories were necessarily inadequate, as indeed all categories are, for the complete interpretation of immediate experience of Divine influence and power.

And yet, within the limitations imposed by the forms of thought he used, Paul does try to make us understand what his mystic

[1] See Holtzmann, *Neutestamentliche Theologie*, II, 9–10.

experience of Christ had meant to him. So far he is really a theological thinker. And, after all, however much we may prize the religion of Paul as distinct from his theology, it is only through his theology—his thoughts about his Christian experience—that we can come face to face with his religion at all. If, in spite of the unsatisfactory nature of the theology—its contradictions and seeming artificialities—the Pauline letters do bring us into contact with the creative forces of the Pauline religion—the faith and hope and love called forth in his heart at the touch of the Risen Lord—the cleavage between the theology and the religion cannot be quite so absolute as is sometimes made out. Pfleiderer [1] regards it as perverse to exalt Paul's personal piety at the expense of his theology. "The two cannot be separated, and Paul's historical achievement certainly does not rest upon his pious emotions, but upon his theological thoughts." The Apostle's theology may lack system and internal harmony, but it is none the less a theology which rests upon his central experience of Jesus Christ, and can only be understood from that centre.

Further, if it is perverse to separate Paul's theology too definitely from his religion, it is still more perverse to declare that the Apostle "moved outside the sphere of the intellect," and was completely indifferent to the demands of clear thinking. Such a statement, as Holtzmann [2] points out, might very easily become a warrant for all sorts of exegetical gymnastics on the part of Paul's commentators. It would mean that there are no rules to determine either the Apostle's statements or their meaning. If Paul is not to be controlled by any sort of logic, then he is quite capable of indulging in flat self-contradiction, and from this it follows that literary criticism can pronounce no judgment on questions of authenticity. "If no tricks of thought are to surprise us," says Holtzmann, "then not merely the Captivity Epistles, separately and collectively, but even the Pastorals might very well be considered as Pauline." In other words, our refusal to intellectualize Paul will have landed us in chaos; if logic is inapplicable, we have no means for understanding him at all.

Paul himself is by no means indifferent to the value of intellectual processes. He is proud of the fact that he can speak the ecstatic language of tongues more than others, but for all that he declares that in the congregation he would rather speak five words with his understanding than ten thousand words in a tongue (1 Cor. xiv. 18–19). Holtzmann regards this as the test that Paul would have us apply to his written communications. He is trying to speak with his understanding, although there is always the possibility that deep-lying non-intellectual forces will succeed in breaking through the meshes of the net created by abstract thinking. It is

[1] *Christian Origins*, 169 n. [2] *Neutestamentliche Theologie*, II, 11.

a priori certain that a writer whose methods of argument were acquired in the Rabbinic schools was genuinely desirous of producing intellectual conviction, and therefore tried to present his thoughts in some sort of logical connexion. And as a matter of fact,[1] we do find in the letters a whole series of elaborate discussions based on the Jewish conception of the religious relationship, and issuing in the doctrines of Justification and Reconciliation; and, side by side with these, the Hellenistic antithesis of flesh and spirit is worked out in an ordered series of logical consequences. Hence it is not sufficient to say that the direction of Paul's thought is determined from time to time by changing impulses of inspiration without logical connexion. Certain elements at least do display such connexion; those thoughts which seem to be shot out under stress of momentary feeling must be regarded as subordinate.

Hence insistence upon the priority of the prophetic personality in Paul need not commit us either to an absolute separation between his theology and his religion, or to a denial of logical structure in his thinking. The fundamental fact is that the motive in Paul's theology is mainly practical. He has little interest in speculation and systematic dogma for their own sakes. His purpose is to elucidate his experience and make it available for others, and he develops his thoughts only so far as is needful for this end. He is not very much concerned to work them out to their logical conclusions; his main interest in them is for the sake of their practical issues. Hence it is a great mistake, as Kennedy[2] points out, to view "Paul's doctrinal positions in detachment from the religious experiences which form their basis." His theology "is a mission-theology, and must primarily be viewed from a practical standpoint." As a missionary, the Apostle is able to present his message from different angles of vision, without concerning himself about the ultimate logical consistency of the views he expresses from time to time.

The differences in forms of expression are partly due to the variety of practical questions that come up for solution in the Pauline Churches, and partly to the fact that Paul is himself responsive to the varying thought-currents of his environment, and is ready to employ any categories that help to make his meaning intelligible to different circles of readers. He seeks from time to time to give to his deepest convictions the form of expression which will most readily appeal to the particular circle in view. Hence the forms vary, while the underlying convictions remain the same. The great thoughts of Paul are not so many beads on a string, but facets of one and the same jewel. They are not individual doctrines in a great system of logically connected parts, but simply different ways of expressing the same great fact of experience.

[1] Cf. Holtzmann, *Neutestamentliche Theologie*, II, 11.
[2] *Expositor*, 1917, 191.

> "The theology of Paul," says Dobschutz,[1] "like that of the Rabbis, was an unsystematic confusion of all sorts of conclusions; Paul lives in the conviction that the death of Christ has redeemed us; but whenever he tries to come to close quarters with this idea, he gives it a different turn every time in sheer inexhaustible wealth of thought, without linking together the different forms."

Whatever there may be of the Greek in Paul, he does not feel the Greek need of systematic thinking, i.e. for the explanation of everything from one principle. He is prepared to use any categories, Jewish or Greek, which help him to expound fundamental facts of experience.

The primary thing in Paul's mind is his mystic apprehension of Jesus Christ, based upon his experience at Damascus. In that experience Christ became the fulfilment of all his religious hopes, the satisfaction of all his longings for certainty about forgiveness, and the realization of his deep-felt need of moral power. In Christ he found himself raised above the sphere of inner conflict, doubt, and questioning, into the sphere of inner harmony, certainty, and peace. The mystic relation to Christ that produced these spiritual transformations within him he describes by the word Faith, while the transformations themselves are described, and fitted into a world-view, by means of categories drawn from contemporary circles of thought and of experience. Some of these categories are Jewish, e.g. the legal conceptions of Jewish piety, the poetic imagery of Apocalypse, ideas drawn from the Old Testament and its Rabbinical exegesis, together with Haggadic legends. Others of his categories are Hellenistic, e.g. the animism of popular religion, the symbolism of the Mysteries, and the teachings of popular philosophy. The Apostle was in touch with all these elements in the culture of his time, and drew upon each for the expression of his convictions according to the needs and purposes of the moment. He displays a remarkable freedom in making use of all the thought-forms of his age as vehicles for the presentation of the Gospel as he had apprehended it in living experience. Having to appeal to both Jews and Greeks, he tried to speak the language of both. It is no wonder that elements of thought derived from such diverse sources refuse to coalesce into a single whole. The wonder lies, as Pfleiderer[2] points out, in "the creative power and originality of the religious genius that could subordinate all these elements of a chaotic, fermenting era to the *one* new spirit of the Christ religion." Hence the unity of the Pauline thought-world is not that of logical system, but that of fundamental conviction, resting upon experience and finding expression from time to time in different media according to

[1] *Das Christentum*, 59. [2] *Christian Origins*, 170.

the needs of the moment. It follows that in the interpretation of the Pauline theology we must neither close our eyes to the diverse modes of expression that are involved in it, nor make the mistake of isolating any one of these modes in order to treat it as a stereotyped formula that determines all the rest. We must penetrate to their underlying unity in the spiritual experience of the Apostle whose rich inner life finds expression in these diverse ways.

Hence we can only do justice to Paul if we regard all his doctrines concerning salvation as so many refractions in different media of one and the same central ray, which is constituted by that mystical relation to Christ which he calls Faith. As Deissmann [1] puts it, they are not lines that combine together to form geometrical figures, but rays that run in all directions, unlimited and immeasurable, from the one point of light constituted by the experience of Christ. From this point of view the Pauline metaphor of mystical participation in the death and resurrection of Christ through baptism means precisely the same thing as his metaphor of justification by faith. Of these two metaphors the first is derived from Paul's Hellenistic environment, and the second from his Jewish training. The two sets of ideas supplement each other and do not represent different elements in experience. In both cases Paul is presenting the same great fact of his experience—that the higher life of the soul in its relation to God has its beginning in a unique relationship to Jesus Christ. Thus, in seeking to make his experience intelligible to others, he throws out metaphors derived from his two-fold environment without endeavouring to link them together in a single whole of thought.

Side by side with these two metaphors we have others which are equally undogmatic.[2] The metaphor of Redemption is derived from the emancipation of slaves by sacral manumission. A slave was freed by a process of fictitious purchase. The money was paid down in the name of the deity by the slave himself or by his patron. The slave became the property of the god in whose name the purchase was effected, and thus free of every human master. The formula of manumission occurs frequently in inscriptions, and must have been familiar to Paul and his readers, and it provides a vivid and intelligible metaphor in which to express the result of the new relationship of the Christian to his Lord. Formerly a slave of sin, he becomes free by being made a slave of Jesus Christ.

The practice of adoption provides a similar metaphor. Adoption was sometimes effected by means of a testament in which a person made a person his heir by adopting him as his son. Paul can make use of this familiar practice to throw light upon the new life in Christ, by suggesting that everything works out as if God had drawn up a testament in our favour, so that we can look forward to an inheri-

[1] See *St. Paul*, 143–5.

[2] Cf. Deissmann, *op. cit.*, 145 *seq.*

tance of which we already possess the earnest money in our present experience of the Holy Spirit in our hearts (cf. Gal. iv. 7). In like manner the idea of Remission of Sins is connected with the legal conception of debt.

In all these cases we are dealing with metaphors which are intended to expound the same experience from different points of view. They do not represent different events or experiences. This is sufficiently indicated by the way in which Paul uses them as alternatives. Thus in Gal. iv. 5, Rom. viii. 23, Adoption and Redemption stand side by side; in Rom. iii. 24, Justification and Redemption; in Col. i. 14, Eph. i. 7, Forgiveness and Redemption; in Rom. iv. 6–8, Justification and Forgiveness. Here we have a series of mixed metaphors [1] which, reprehensible as it might be in the technical theologian, is perfectly intelligible in the case of the popular preacher.

Since all these metaphors are intended to present the same experience in different ways, it is a mistake to isolate them by regarding Justification, Reconciliation, Forgiveness, Redemption, Adoption, and Mystical Union as separate dogmas which combine together to form a Pauline system of doctrine.

> "We shall not comprehend St. Paul," says Deissmann,[2] "until we have heard all these testimonies concerning salvation sounding together in harmony like the notes of a single full chord. Once accused before God, an enemy of God, a debtor, and a slave—now in Christ acquitted and redeemed, free from debt, the friend of God and son of God—the man who makes this confession testifies that in Christ he has ceased to be 'far off' from God and has come 'near' God (Eph. ii. 13). To raise . . . questions . . . such as 'What is the relation of Justification to Reconciliation in St. Paul? or of Forgiveness to Redemption?' is simply to break the strings of the harp and twist them into a tangle that it is hopeless to unravel. Surely it has no more value than to ask what is the relation of an accused person to an enemy or of a debtor to a slave."

The central conviction in all these metaphors is that we are brought to God through Jesus Christ; all barriers are broken down and the way of access is opened wide. Paul finds God in His love and grace only because he has first found Christ, or rather has been found by Him. He is one with God because first he is one with Christ, who is for him the creative personality in the realm of these higher religious certainties. Hence Paul's religious conceptions are

[1] *Op. cit.*, 154–5. The metaphors themselves, while displaying Paul's fondness for legal imagery, are not entirely Pauline inventions. Most of them already appear in the Septuagint and in the teaching of Jesus.

[2] *Op. cit.*, 154–5.

entirely determined by his primal experience of mystical union with Christ. He exhausts all the glowing categories of contemporary piety in giving expression to the wonder of it all. In its essence his experience remains unfathomable. Hence the Pauline theology deals at bottom with mysteries which only become completely intelligible to the man who shares the experience in which it is rooted. It is a wisdom hid from the princes of this world and taught only by the spirit of God (1 Cor. ii. 8–10). In other words, the Pauline theology moves in the realm of symbol and metaphor; it is an endeavour to characterize what lies beyond the reach of exposition, to adumbrate what lies deeper than understanding; it is concerned with spiritual things that can only be spiritually apprehended in mystical experience.

It is this experience that constitutes the universal element in Paul. There is nothing specifically Jewish about it. Indeed, it finds its closest analogies in the Hellenistic cults. Hence, in turning to the Hellenistic world he can, without any difficulty, use the language of the Mystery Sacraments as a medium of expressing what the Christ experience means. In Baptism we share the experience of the Crucified and Risen Lord; in the Eucharist we feed upon the Body and Blood broken and shed for us. That was just Paul's way of saying that Christ does for us all that is claimed for the "Lords many" of the Mystery cults. On the face of it, his language seems often to be purely sacramental, but it would be perverse to isolate this series of metaphors and regard it as determinative of Paul's view of the Christian life without taking into account the ethical, eschatological, and non-sacramental elements upon which he lays stress elsewhere. There is contradiction, no doubt, between the sacramental and the ethical teaching, but the contradiction is there precisely because Paul is ready to use even sacramental language so far as it will enable him to present his fundamental convictions to a certain class of reader. His mystical apprehension of Christ is fundamental and falls readily into the categories of the Mystery cults. Nevertheless, these categories do not give him all he needs for the presentation of his message. His union with Christ involves not merely mystical participation in the death and resurrection, but also ethical partnership in love and service. The ethical note of Judaism is not suppressed by any concessions that Paul may make to Hellenistic Sacramentalism. In his contemplation of the death of Christ the Apostle is never a slave to phrases. He is always wrestling with new forms of expression for something which in the end refuses to be completely rationalized.

In view of these divergent view-points it is clear that Paul did not think of Christianity as a closed system of dogma. His theology is largely apologetic, and, like Philo and the author of *Sapientia*,

he feels it to be his duty to speak to the Gentiles as far as possible in their own language. He is remarkably tolerant of differences in mode of presentation, provided the deep central things are not endangered. When certain of the Corinthians introduced the practice of baptism for the dead Paul did not expressly forbid it, but turned it to advantage as an argument for the resurrection. Although he differed on many points from both Peter and Apollos he did not seek to make capital for himself out of the disputes of their respective adherents at Corinth; he exhorted them all to live peaceably together in spite of their differences. He showed hospitality for all forms of presentation that make Christ central in the religious life. He cared only about the preaching of Christ and could rejoice in whatever way this was done (Phil. i. 18). He could be both a Hellenist and a Jew; he could use both Rabbinic dialectic and Alexandrian allegory; he could recognize the value of Greek forms of thought as well as Jewish.

Indeed, to the Christian Apostle to the Gentiles, the Hellenistic terms were just as valid as any others in throwing light upon the deep things of God as they were realized in Christian experience. And it was precisely this responsiveness to the varying thought-currents of his day that gave to Paul his extraordinary versatility. It made him singularly apt at meeting the diverse religious needs of his environment. He brought every man face to face with his own experience at Damascus, cast into the forms of thought with which he was most familiar. The results are mutually inconsistent only when we lose sight of the experience which they expound in different ways.

It is further to be noted that Paul's standpoint in discussion is occasionally shifted somewhat in accordance with variations in his polemical interests. His view of the origin and function of the Law, e.g., is not always the same. In Rom. vii. and viii. Paul concedes to the Jewish point of view that the Law is "holy and just and good" (vii. 12). It proceeds from God Himself (vii. 22 and 25). It fails to make men righteous because flesh and blood cannot rise to its moral heights (viii. 3). In Galatians, however, Paul approaches the subject differently. Speaking specifically to Gentile converts who are in danger of abandoning the Gospel for the Jewish Law, he is concerned to put the antithesis between the Law and the Gospel in the sharpest possible way. He starts from the Jewish Haggadah that seeks to magnify the Law by teaching that the Law was given by an angelic host. Paul identifies these angels with the "host of heaven" of the Old Testament, and concludes, in a way that would have shocked his Jewish opponents, by saying that the Law did not come from God at all, but was the work of the astral deities [1]

[1] It must be confessed that Paul's use of the term *στοιχεῖα* is enigmatical. Easton (*American Journal of Theology*, 1917, 362) points out that it would be inconsistent with

(the στοιχεῖα of Gal. iv. 3 and 9, cf. Col. ii. 8 and 20), who played so great a part in heathen religion. This implies that Judaism and heathenism stand upon the same religious level, and that the Gentiles, in submitting to the Jewish Law, are simply returning to their former heathenism. In this view of things the Jewish conception of the Law has disappeared altogether. There is thus a hiatus in Paul's thinking, a discrepancy due to the fact that Paul in the two epistles approaches the matter differently; in Romans from the point of view of the Jews, in Galatians from that of the Gentiles. In the latter case the Apostle is driven to sharper antithesis because the motive is polemical.

In close connexion with this contradictory view of the Law is the contradictory view of the Old Testament. Marcion took it for granted that the Pauline rejection of the Law involved the repudiation of the Old Testament. Paul, however, does not reject the Old Testament, but uses it as a storehouse of proof-texts, and displays an exegetical ingenuity which at times approaches audacious misrepresentation in claiming the authority of the Old Testament for his views, e.g. when he tries to extract a proof for his doctrine of Justification by Faith from a passage (Deut. xxx. 11), which has for its theme the praise of the Law (Rom. x. 6–8). Moreover, the use that Paul makes of the figure of Abraham as the prototype of Faith could have furnished his Jewish opponents with an argument against his doctrine of salvation by Christ alone. For if Abraham is saved apart from the Cross, what need is there for the Cross at all? The discrepancy is once more due to two different systems of apologetics,[1] one for the Jews, which endeavours to show that the Christian view of salvation goes back to Abraham and ante-dates the Law; the other for Gentiles, which preaches salvation through the Cross alone, without regard for Jewish prejudices. The result of this reliance upon the Old Testament, in spite of the rejection of the Law, is that the Old Testament is saved for the Christian Church. The God of Abraham is the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Revelation is one process which culminates in the Cross.

Some of the Pauline antinomies, of course, are legacies from the ancestral Judaism. This is specially marked in his doctrines of Sin, the Fall, and Predestination. In the doctrine of Sin Paul makes absolute the Rabbinic doctrine of an inherent evil bias in

Paul's attitude to the Law to regard the στοιχεῖα of Gal. iv. as "elementary principles" in the sense in which Heb. vi. 1 regards repentance, baptism, etc., as things which belong to preliminary instruction in Christianity. Paul did not give his converts instruction in the Law as the first step in Christian instruction. The new salvation was something entirely different from the Law. As a minor is under the control of guardians, so we, when we were minors, were kept under the control of the astral deities. Thus Jewish legalism is put on the same level as Gentile heathenism.

[1] So Wernle, *Die Anfänge unserer Religion*, 189.

human nature, but follows the Jewish doctors in making no attempt to show how this conception is to be reconciled with the doctrine of individual responsibility. In like manner, in his doctrine of the Fall he asserts that "through one man's disobedience many were made sinners" (Rom. v. 19), and yet in the same context he declares that death, which is the result of sin, passed upon all men, "for that all have sinned." Antinomies such as these are characteristic of Jewish thought. The two sides of a truth are stated separately as absolute, without indicating their higher synthesis. Hence it is misleading to take either of them alone without regard for the other. Once more, Paul follows the Rabbis in his doctrine of Predestination, and in Rom. ix. lays such exclusive stress upon it that he has no answer to the objection that, if everything goes back to the choice of God, there can be no room for individual responsibility. All he can say is: "Nay but, O man, who art thou that repliest against God?" (v. 20). He is quite content to leave it at that, while in his moral exhortations elsewhere he takes free will for granted. He offers no solution. The antinomy is part of his Jewish inheritance, and he does not feel the impatience of the modern mind towards the dilemma. He has not created it.

Similar inconsistencies in the Pauline ethics are due to the embarrassment of the Apostle in the prejudices of his age. In spite of his bold proclamation of the equal rights of husbands and wives (1 Cor. vii. 2–16), he cannot quite get rid of the feeling which demands the subordination of the woman to the man (1 Cor. xi. 3–10). Some of his ethical inconsistencies are due to the extreme form in which he states his principles. He makes no qualifications in statement, but in practice finds himself compelled to leave room for them, and his practical qualifications are apt to look like conflicting principles. His absolute reliance upon the indwelling Spirit in every man as the sole moral authority does not prevent him from giving definite moral instruction to his Churches from time to time. He has to recognize that the full life in the spirit is a matter of growth, and that there are "babes" in Christ who cannot yet be fed with meat, although his principles require the assertion that the transition from life in the flesh to life in the Spirit takes place at a bound, and is completed in the moment of conversion. So again, while in Rom. vii. the Apostle teaches that the natural man is entirely incapable of good, and views his pre-Christian life as a hopeless warfare between the will to do good and the actual performance of evil, nevertheless in Phil. iii. 6 he can speak of his life as a Jew as "blameless so far as the righteousness which is in the Law is concerned." His eager joy in the glorious freedom that he has found in Christ has driven him, in Rom. vii., to darken the picture of the natural man. In like manner, in spite of the pessimistic view of the Gentile (i.e. natural) morality in Rom. i., Paul is honest enough in the next

chapter to recognize that there is real goodness to be found among the heathen (cf. especially vv. 10, 14 and 15). Paul's moral feeling, Jülicher suggests,[1] is usually finer than his ethical thinking, and delivers him from the extremer consequences of his own principles. Thus, in the supreme instance, while his language about Baptism and the Lord's Supper often seems to suggest something of sacramental magic, he guards against dangerous inferences by insisting upon the supremacy of Love as the final touchstone of all Christian experience and conduct. Paul never loses sight of the moral significance of all religious experiences, however mystical they may be.

From this survey of the mind of Paul we conclude that, while his preaching contains the elements of a genuine theology, it is too many-sided to be comprehended within a single system of stereotyped forms. This lack of systematic completeness really constitutes its strength, for it springs out of the manifold response of the Apostle to the needs of his own age. The theology of Paul is best understood as the theology of a missionary who consciously adapts his thoughts to the mental outlook and experience of his readers. We can distinguish two elements in it: (1) The theology of Redemption, which is the foundation of the preaching among the Gentiles; (2) The anti-Jewish dialectic which is largely a defence against the hostile criticisms of Jews and Judaisers. The exigencies of this polemic often drive the Apostle to extreme antitheses, e.g. in his rejection of the Law as a principle absolutely opposed to the Gospel, a procedure which does not readily harmonize with the rest of his thinking. Nevertheless, it is in this matter that he displays his genuine independence and originality. By refusing to be bound by Rabbinic modes of thinking he opens the way to an understanding of the Gospel that gives to Christianity the character of a universal religion, no less valid for the successors of Socrates and Plato than for those of Jeremiah and Isaiah. His arguments against the Law were often unconvincing; his view of life under the Law was one-sided and inadequate; but he accomplished the task of freeing Christianity from the swaddling-bands of Judaism. That task needed for its realization a versatile mind like his, a mind that was alive to the inner deficiencies of Judaism, and was responsive at the same time to currents of thought outside Judaism. It was his endeavour to make available for others the great experience which once for all had broken down the barriers between Jew and Gentile and made both one in Jesus Christ. That could only be accomplished by one who could speak the language of both worlds. And in Paul we see a wonderful capacity for seizing the dominant ideas of the two-fold environment and turning them to account in the explication of his Christian experience.

This fact, however, does not by any means dispose of his origin-

[1] *Kultur der Gegenwart*, I, iv. 88.

ality. In the last analysis, the ultimate source of a Pauline phrase or idea matters but little. Our primary concern is not so much to ascertain whence came this phrase or that, or even what it may have meant for those who first used it, but rather to show what it meant for Paul and how he related it to his central experience. For his use of thought-forms is never mere imitation ; it is always assimilation. Garvie [1] quite justly says that Paul " did not merely borrow in order to display the thoughts of others. All that came to him from his heredity or his environment was so appropriated by his individuality that we have not said the last word needing to be said about any of his ideas when we have labelled it with its place of origin." Or again, in Moffat's words [2] : " Wherever the fruit was gathered, and on whatever soil it had originally grown, he pressed the grapes himself, and poured the new wine into his own wine-skins." In other words, in combining Jewish and Hellenistic material, Paul succeeds in creating something new. The fundamental thing for him is his conception of the Christian life as a new life in the Spirit that is bestowed through Jesus Christ. That is the direct utterance of Paul's experience, and from that point of view everything is thought out afresh. After his conversion nothing remains quite the same for this Hellenistic Jew with the Rabbinic training. Every thought receives a new content, and the result is a Gospel whose truth rests, not upon any appeal to traditional authority or to abstract argument, but upon the unshakeable foundation of inward conviction. It is this conviction that breathes through all the great ideas of Pauline theology. If Jesus is the Redeemer, then all men are lost sinners without hope save in the Cross and in the Spirit of the exalted Christ. Then, if our hope is in the Spirit, the Law is powerless to save, and is annulled in the Cross ; and finally, since Christ is everything for us, then all history, nay the whole universe, centres in Him. Combined with these fundamental convictions is much that is accidental and non-essential. The doctrine of Mystical Union in Rom. vi. lies nearer the heart of the Pauline message than the doctrine of Justification by Faith in Rom. iii. ; the angelology and demonology of the Captivity Epistles are entirely subordinate to the central conviction of the supremacy of Christ in God's redemptive purpose for the world ; and the great utterance " there is neither male nor female . . . in Christ Jesus " (Gal. iii. 28), is more central than any concessions made to contemporary prejudices about the position of women, whether in marriage or in divine worship. We can dispense with not a little that lies merely on the circumference of the Pauline thought-world.

Nevertheless, when we have ruled out these non-essential features, there are two elements in the teaching of Paul which, taken together,

[1] *Studies of Paul and His Gospel*, 3. [2] *Paul and Paulinism*, 35.

represent the abiding worth of his message. The first is the centrality of Jesus Christ as the creative personality in the higher religious life. It was the Pauline Christology that made the Jesus of history an abiding fact in human life by providing classical forms of expression for what Jesus had meant for His earliest disciples. It was Jesus of Nazareth whom Paul preached as the Redeemer who bestows upon us the gift of moral freedom, and brings to us not only the vision of the will of God, but also the strength and the courage to realize that will in daily living. Paul both taught and proved in the experience of his Churches that with Jesus a new spiritual power had come into history. Thereby he gave to Christianity a world-view that enabled it to drive Oriental mythologies off the field and at the same time to enter into alliance with the higher aspirations of Greek philosophy. Moreover, by freeing the Gospel from Jewish shackles he removed the emphasis once for all from the external and ceremonial to the inward and the spiritual. In the preaching of Paul a new era of history was opened, a new race, wide as the world, was founded with Jesus as its Sovereign and love as the keynote of life. Henceforth men could never forget Jesus. He remained the central fact in human history.

The second abiding element in the message of Paul is the autonomy of the Christian conscience. External codes and ancestral traditions fall away and yield place to the life that is guided and controlled inwardly by the Spirit of the ever-living Jesus, who speaks in the conscience of the Christian man. To his own Master each man standeth or falleth. He judgeth all things, but Himself is judged of none. Thus Paul preaches no static ethic, but one that is capable of infinite extension through all the developments of history. He throws upon the Christian conscience of each successive generation the obligation to explore and apply the mind of Christ to the moral problems thrown up by a changing environment There is no static law, no fixed and final ethic, no subjection to the dead hand of the past, but, as the Christian centuries proceed, a continuous enlargement of moral vision, a progressive realization of the law of love, an ever-widening conquest of the diverse spheres of human life, individual, social, industrial, national and international, as well as artistic and intellectual, for the ethic of the Cross. From Paul's rejection of the Law arises his great achievement in the realm of Christian ethic. His antinomianism simply means the enthronement of the Christian conscience.

E. J. Price.

THE CANADIAN HERO OF THE GREELY ARCTIC EXPEDITION

ELEVEN years ago I wrote a volume, *True Tales of Arctic Heroism in the New World.* In the main it was a compilation of striking episodes, drawn from standard works on Arctic exploration. Of the twenty-one tales—into which entered no imaginary scenes or exaggerated incidents—no less than ten were of British heroism, twice as many as of any other nationality. To the criticisms of personal friends that among these were no tales from the Greely Expedition, the answer was made that the writer at least had literary modesty in refraining from any claim that the work of his expedition, full as it was of noble and unselfish acts, was to be classed under the head of heroism.

The tale I am now to tell appeared in its general outlines in my *Three Years of Arctic Service,* published thirty-seven years ago. In its enlarged form it will be new to the rising British generation, whose admiration of heroic acts has been deepened by the many unselfish examples among them in the late war.

The only member of my expedition from Canada was George W. Rice, a man always proud of his native country, and ever rejoicing in his British ancestry and nationality. In the adventurous paths of peace, he was in spirit and in action a forerunner of the British colonists who rallied so splendidly to the support of the mother country when the liberty of the world was threatened with extermination by militaristic and arrogant Germany. The undaunted courage and high spirits displayed by the Australians at Gallipoli, and by the Canadians in north-western France, were of the same order as that which distinguished Rice in the White North.

When the Greely Arctic Expedition of 1881 was organizing there were, as always for adventurous voyages, scores of volunteers for service. Among them there was no more promising candidate than Rice, who—I think I am right in saying—was a Congregationalist. On the working side he was an excellent photographer, and had some skill as a navigator. He was a fine specimen of robust manhood, and had previously visited Greenland with a private expedition. The human side of a man is most important when he is to live a long time in close contact with other men, of all sorts and kinds, and Rice was a man of education and of cheerful disposition, whose experiences had been broadening, and who was reported to be most companionable. As it was impossible to take him as a civilian, he consented to enlist in the Signal Corps of the American Army, where he was promoted to be a non-commissioned officer, and so was known as Sergeant Rice. Among the many efficient and loyal members of the expedition in its

three years' absence, there were but one or two who were his equals in field and in garrison. Of those who died on the field, none was so deeply mourned as he.

Voyaging northward through Baffin Bay and its northern extensions to the entrance to the Arctic Ocean, the Greely Expedition of 1881 built a house on the shores of Lady Franklin Bay, at the site occupied by the land party of Captain Stephenson, R.N., of the Nares's Expedition of 1875. Our ship was sent back, and left us the most northerly colonists of recorded history, 496 miles from the North Pole, and several hundred miles distant from the nearest neighbours, the Etah Eskimo to the south. For three years the members were fated to see no other faces than those of their own party.

First of all, the expedition established its scientific buildings, for it was one of the fourteen International Circumpolar Stations engaged in making a series of scientific observations for the increase of Polar knowledge.

While the other members were working, Dr. Pavy and Rice were sent to make a land journey along the coast of Grant Land, to visit its most northerly point, Cape Henry, and ascertain the practicability of overland travel; to examine the food caches of 1875; and to seek for possible traces of the long-missing American (*Jeannette*) expedition. Carrying a dog-tent, sleeping-bag, and food on their shoulders, the two men succeeded in reaching the shores of the Great Frozen Sea. Unfortunately, Rice broke down on the return, and had to be brought in by a rescue party from headquarters. On the trip north the two men had been driven by impassable cliffs to descend to the ice-foot of Robeson Channel, and in testing the strength of the ice Rice broke through and was wet to his thighs. Although he had no means of drying his clothing except by the heat of his body, he refused to break up the trip, and went on with his wet gear. Though suffering intensely, he made no complaint, and by indomitable pluck marched in three days no less than fifty-five hours. He stopped only when acute rheumatism made it impossible for him to take a single step. His condition may be inferred from his losing twenty-four pounds in weight during the trip. His sufferings did not impair his field efficiency, for he discovered fish in an inland lake and shot a Polar hare for food.

Rice's breakdown caused me to view his requests for further field service with doubt, but he soon showed his bodily vigour and powers of endurance to such an extent as to renew confidence in him. Twice during the first winter, with Brainard—a man of equal vigour, spirit, and resourcefulness, whom Rice loved and sought as a close associate—he climbed an adjacent mountain, installed instruments thereon, and made observations. These journeys, made in temperatures as low as 52 degrees of frost, without bodily exhaustion or frost-bites, were satisfactory tests.

Foremost in every effort to keep up the spirits of the men in the winter, when the sun was absent for 135 days, Rice edited *The Arctic Moon*, distributed the Christmas gifts, made funny speeches, and played many harmless jokes. Meanwhile he made photographs, wonderful for that age, tried to photograph the fleeting beams of the Aurora, and made tidal and other observations.

The long night and continued darkness greatly depressed our Eskimo, and the full-blooded Jens gave us great anxiety by leaving the station, without even eating breakfast, and, although the temperature was 61 degrees of frost, not even taking his sealskin mittens. Search parties went out, one headed by Rice, and the native was brought back and never repeated his desertion. This trait of abandonment, which caused several British expeditions trouble, is an Eskimo idiosyncracy, probably of spiritual origin, resting on the belief that in the desert regions of the inland country is a helpful spirit that aids those seeking him.

In this search Rice fell into one of the crevices of the rough ice-foot and seriously injured his right arm, but even in that condition it was due to his energy and judgment that another member of the expedition, Whisler, who had become frost-bitten and semi-delirious through exposure without sufficient bodily covering, was safely brought back to headquarters.

With the opening field-work in the spring of 1882, a sledge party was sent northward from Cape Henry over the unbroken ice of the Arctic Ocean in an effort to surpass the wonderful world-record of Captain Albert Markham, R.N., in 1876. Rice's ambition to join this party was intense, and it was granted. This attempt proved a failure owing to the sudden disintegration of the Polar pack, which occurred so suddenly that to save their lives the party had to abandon their food and supplies, barely reaching land with their tentage and dog-team. In the early stages of this journey Rice displayed extraordinary physical powers and resourcefulness. On the way north a runner of the single sledge was broken while working through the rough, jagged masses of solid ice.

When Dr. Pavy found it impossible to repair the sledge, he was about to abandon the trip in despair. Rice then volunteered to return to headquarters with the Eskimo Jens and bring a new runner. The hardships and sufferings of such an undertaking were evident, as the travellers would be without tentage, and the temperature was 74 degrees of frost. The two men started without extra clothing or sleeping-bag, carrying by turns the heavy steel shoe of the runner, an awkward burden with which they stumbled across the high pressure ice-ridges, and struggled through deep snow which often concealed the dangerous floe-fissures. They had only a small alcohol lamp to melt ice for drinking, and depended on chocolate and a piece of preserved beef to keep up their strength. The nearest place where they could

find shelter for rest and opportunity for warm food was forty miles distant, but they made this awful march in nineteen hours of unbroken travel. It would have been an impossible journey for ordinary men, and even the strong and hardy Eskimo would have fallen in his tracks, had it not been for the unconquerable Canadian, who urged him on by taking the steel shoe when the other man failed. Nearly dead with fatigue and need of sleep, the two men fell rather than walked into the depot.

Meanwhile it was discovered that a Polar bear had ripped open all the food packages at Lincoln Bay. While the beast, with wise choice, had left untasted the bread, he made his morning meal on seventy-five pounds of pemmican—a disastrous loss for the field party and their famished dogs. Moreover, it augured ill for the safety of any other food cached on this coast.

The first command of an important sledge party by Rice was in April 1882, when with ten men he crossed Robeson Channel to Thank God Harbour, Greenland, to bring therefrom a whaleboat needed for use in our possible retreat in the coming autumn. He wished especially to visit this historic place, associated with the operations of two expeditions, that of the American Hall and of the Englishman Beaumont. Here was Hall's grave, with the beautiful brass tablet erected to his memory by Nares, and, adjoining, the graves of the two British seamen, Hand and Paul, who died after the heroic efforts of Lieutenant Beaumont, R.N., to save them.

Rice conducted the sledge operations with judgment and efficiency. The journey of ninety miles was made in six days, during which the temperature averaged 53 degrees of frost and the mercury never rose above 44 degrees of frost, yet no man was frost-bitten or in any manner disabled. All the sledge-men came to the home station in harness, health, and strength.

Under its original orders, the Greely Arctic Expedition was to be visited each year by a supporting ship. In 1882 the ship failed to reach Lady Franklin Bay, and in 1883 the relieving ship, *Proteus*, was recklessly pushed into the moving ice-pack of Kane Sea, where it was crushed by the floes and sank. Under its orders the Greely Expedition retreated southward in August 1883 by launch and whaleboat, carrying its records, scientific instruments, collections, and selected personal baggage. Though it succeeded in making this remarkable voyage, some 500 miles in fifty-one days, it was almost to be classed as a miracle that men in health, with records, etc. unharmed, were ultimately landed at the place of rendezvous, Cape Sabine. During this boat journey dependence was largely placed on Rice, the only navigator of the party, who had an excellent eye for ice-navigation. Once he nearly came to grief, for examining the ice with me he was nearly drowned, breaking through the ice, wetting himself thoroughly, and scrambling out with difficulty. Remembering his

experiences the preceding year, I promptly ordered him to strip, and taking off some of my underwear, covered part of his body until others came and were able to clothe him fully with dry garments.

It was a phenomenal boat voyage, through ice-clogged seas that never before nor since have been navigated by boats. Now we passed rapidly, then we scraped through a cleft in a towering iceberg and were stopped by close ice. To-day the launch and its towed boats were thrown by the moving pack against the rock-bound coast; to-morrow the launch barely escaped destruction, while the boats were hastily dragged up on the main floe to avoid the colliding ice-fields. Then, when in sight of our destination, came the forming of new ice, with the cementing of the floes into an unbroken field, and our besetment.

Navigation ended, there followed besetment for fifteen days, during which the temperature fell to 31 degrees of frost. When the release of the boats from the surrounding floes was recognized as impossible, we made exhausting and ineffectual efforts by sledge to reach the land only ten miles distant. During this time there was a succession of violent storms and snow-filled blizzards, causing the crashing and crushing of vast floes, some of which were a hundred feet in thickness and miles in length and breadth. In this hour of desperation the men exhibited a fine spirit. As the conditions appeared almost hopeless, they were asked to decide whether they wished to increase their chance of life by taking from our heavily laden sledges the scientific instruments and collections. Brainard and Rice were the men who led in the talk that followed. Unanimously the men declared that if the instruments went to the bottom of the sea the party should go with them.

All expectations of safety vanished when a violent northerly gale drove the great floe (one mile long by three miles broad) on which the party was encamped to the southward of Cape Sabine into the northerly opening of Baffin Bay. Where man's efforts and energy availed naught, the forces of nature were beneficent. Under the strong wind the great floes swung hither and thither, crushing the edges of other floes and yielding only to force of wind and current. Under such conditions an immense adjoining floe impinged on the shore of Ellesmere Land, north of Cape Isabella. By strenuous endeavours the loaded sledges were hastened shoreward, and with bodily exhaustion but thankful hearts the men gained the shore. It was a barren, ice-crowned coast, with projecting glaciers here and there, but it meant safety for the time. The men were all well, and the records, collections, and instruments safe, so that the future was faced with renewed confidence.

While stone and snow-enclosed huts were being built at Eskimo Point, about twenty miles south of Cape Sabine, a scouting party was started overland to visit the Cape and bring news as to the food and

records that were expected there, according to previous orders. When the scouts returned, unable to make the journey, Rice asked his chance, going with Eskimo Jens. A week passed with no word from him, and anxiety was felt about him, but a few days later he returned with bad news. He found a record which told that the relieving ship, *Proteus*, had sunk north of Cape Sabine, crushed by ice-floes. Although two American ships had visited these waters, no supplies had been cached at or near there. There was, however, a small quantity of food scattered along the coast salvaged from the sinking ship.

The only record at Sabine was one in which was this promising sentence: "Everything in the power of man will be done to rescue the brave men at Ft. Conger (our northern station was so named) from their perilous position." Fine words, but no effort of any kind was made until the following year, and the expedition was left to freeze and starve at Sabine.

Sent southward to ascertain if perchance American records or supplies had been left at Cape Isabella, Rice made the trip with Eskimo Christiansen, in temperature of 39 degrees of frost. He found that the only cache contained 144 pounds of preserved meat, left there by Sir Allen Young for the British Expedition under Nares in 1876. As Cape Sabine was an appointed rendezvous, and the salvaged food was near there, the expeditionary party was moved to that locality and built its winter quarters at Camp Clay, while instruments and records were prominently cached at the Cape itself. Hunters, Eskimo and whites, were meanwhile put into the field, unfortunately with scant results.

A survey of available food and an estimate of probable additions through hunting made it evident that starvation impended unless there was a very favourable turn before the next summer and the anticipated relief squadron arrived. It seemed prudent, if not absolutely necessary, to obtain the meat, small though the quantity, in the depot at Cape Isabella. The command of this field party was given to Rice, as he knew the route and the locality of the depot, which the already fast-falling Arctic night—for the sun was gone for the winter—would make difficult for another to find. With him went Elison, Frederick, and Linn, all strong, willing men. Weather conditions soon became most trying, for the ordinary hardships of travel over rough ice and in semi-darkness were accompanied by cold almost unendurable for men living on a half-ration of food. For days the temperatures ranged from 52 to 57 degrees of frost, while snow-blizzards blinded them, and travel was slow and even dangerous over a snowy expanse which covered ice-fissures and tidal holes.

While they obtained the meat without accidents, disaster befell them on the return journey, making it necessary to cache it on the floe before reaching Eskimo Point. Carefully watching his sledge comrades, Rice saw that there was something wrong with Elison's gait.

Upon halting and examining him, it was found that both his hands and his feet were badly frozen, probably due to travel through snow wet with tidal overflow. Rapid travel to Eskimo Point for the proper care of the disabled man was the only course. It was a question of leaving the cache of meat, with its possible loss, or the death of a comrade—and there was but one decision possible. With hot tea, thawed out limbs, warm food, and a night of comfortable sleep under shelter at the old camp, Elison said he felt able to travel to Camp Clay. A few hours on the trail found him staggering, as with lessened powers of physical resistance he was again frosted, but he struggled on manfully until he fell down in his tracks.

Digging a hole in a convenient snow-drift, his companions got him into the sleeping-bag, where it was found that his feet were nearly solid with frost. The only hope of saving him was for Rice to go for a relief party, while Frederick and Linn stayed with him in the bag. This was done, and eventually he was brought to Camp Clay. While awaiting relief, Frederick and Linn, by getting into the bag with him, sought to thaw out his frozen limbs by the heat of their own bodies. They thus emulated like action on the part of Lieutenants Egerton and Rawson, when their Danish dog-driver, Petersen, was frozen on a sledge trip of the British Expedition of 1875-6.

The endurance and vitality of Sergeant Elison were marvellous. Brought to the camp and given extra food—no one of his starving comrades objecting—his feet and hands fell off during the winter, but nevertheless he was one of the most cheerful and optimistic men during the whole period. He survived, being one of the seven men of the expedition rescued by Schley's squadron on midsummer day in 1884. Alas, however, by this time both Sergeant Linn and Elison's Canadian rescuer had both perished, the latter in self-sacrificing efforts in behalf of his suffering comrades.

The fate of the main party of the Greely Expedition was felt to turn on the freezing over of Smith Sound, which was believed to occur each winter. If this happened, a crossing could be made to Littleton Island, Greenland, about thirty miles distant, where supplies were cached and the friendly Etah Eskimo were near at hand. Repeated and almost daily noise of the grinding floes, even in late January, told us that the Sound was open. To learn the exact conditions, Rice was sent in February 1884, with Eskimo Jens, to cross the strait if possible. They were unable to get nearer than ten miles of the Greenland shore, which was never seen owing to water-clouds. At their farthest, they were turned back by long stretches of open water. Rice's powers of endurance—weakened by months of semi-starvation—were severely tested by the very cold weather from which he admitted he suffered, the temperatures ranging during the field journey of a week from 50 to 72 degrees of frost.

The conditions became more and more discouraging, as men began

to die of starvation. Every effort was made to supplement the scanty food supply, Long and Jens hunting daily, Brainard and Rice dredging tiny sea-insects, others stripping lichens (as did Franklin in his famous land journey) from the rocks. Rice several times urged the importance of obtaining the Isabella meat, cached on the floe near Eskimo Point. This attempt the commander at first declined to authorize, on account of the dangers of field travel in extreme cold and in weakened condition, as illustrated by the disaster to Sergeant Elison; but finally and reluctantly he assented as a last chance of saving lives. With Sergeant Frederick as a comrade, Rice left the camp on April 6, 1884. It was significant of the consideration of the man that he slept his last night in the sleeping-bag where lay the body of Linn, who died that day and was yet unburied. Rice was unwilling to disturb any other of his comrades by crowding into their bags. It further shows the spirit of the men that both Frederick and Rice insisted on making this awful journey on the fixed camp ration—six ounces of bread and six of pemmican—so that if they failed their comrades should not suffer reduction of food.

The story of this fatal journey is drawn from the narrative of the survivor, Frederick, told on his return. The weather was favourable when the men left camp, clear, calm, the temperature of 40 degrees of frost being mild for the season. Often stumbling in the darkness, and pitching into the deep snow, they made their first camp, quite exhausted, in Rosse Bay. There a blizzard of such violence struck them that, being without tentage, they could not light their lamp for making tea, and so ate their pemmican frozen. The blizzard was so violent, and the snow-filled air so dense that they were storm-stayed in their sleeping-bag for twenty-four hours without food or drink, and they were so cold that on rising they had to march an hour before they were warm enough to cook their tea.

The weather improving, they reached their old camp at Eskimo Point when three days out. Being within six miles of the meat cache, they rather unwisely decided to leave in camp their sleeping-bag and other impedimenta. With good weather and a lightened sled, they thought they could get the meat and return to the camp in one march without trouble. But the weather changed suddenly, and a north-west snow-blizzard struck them, at times so blinding them that they walked into tidal overflows near the grounded icebergs, and so wet their foot-gear, which froze solid when they touched dry ice. Six hours of this dreadful travel, and another hour in search of the meat, brought no result, and they began to wonder if the main ice had broken up during a winter gale, and later drifted to sea carrying the cached meat.

While Frederick favoured abandoning the search and a speedy return to Eskimo Point, Rice thought the weather would clear and the meat be found. He said it would be a bitter disappointment to

the expedition if they failed. They therefore upturned the sledge and thus gained some shelter from the snow and wind. Frederick was soon alarmed to notice that Rice laid down as though exhausted, and on taxing him with it Rice said that he was tired, but that by travelling slowly he could reach the camp. Frederick gave him some of the rum carried for medicine, and with a few drops of ammonia the invalid seemed to improve. Meanwhile Frederick lighted the alcohol lamp, made some tea, and thawed a bit of pemmican. The meal eaten, it was found that Rice did not improve and that he could not travel, and then he admitted that the end had come. Indeed, it was evident to poor Frederick that the Canadian had exhausted his vitality, working to the very end of physical strength—indeed, almost on will power alone.

As the story was told, the commander could not but recall how the grit and endurance of this man paralleled that of a grey wolf—thought to be the sturdiest of Arctic animals. One such was shot at Lady Franklin Bay and then pursued over the main floe, his track marked by dripping blood. When finally reached, it was found that the wolf had gone on until the last drop of blood had flown from his body, when he dropped dead. So this heroic Canadian, proud of his strength, ever eager to do his part, unwilling to be surpassed in usefulness by any other man, had given his last bit of vitality in the endeavour to secure for his famishing comrades the meat that he had brought part way from Isabella.

With calmness and resignation he met his death, giving instructions about his diary, effects, etc., and sending messages to those far away who were near and dear to his heart. There were no regrets that he had given his life in a vain effort to help others, and no praise claimed for the intent. He had no complaints at the hardships and suffering, either past or present. Can one imagine it, but there was badinage in the passing minutes, as was customary between them in camp. They were many-sided men who followed Barrie's injunction: "Do not be merely courageous, but light-hearted and gay." At last Death was met with composure; indeed, his visits to the expedition during the winter had become so frequent, and men had died so quietly and easily, that the victory of Death had passed. In his last moments Rice had the affection of a friend to cheer him. To give physical comfort to him (a snow-blizzard was blowing with a temperature of 30 degrees of frost), Frederick stripped off his *temiak* (seal-skin jumper) and wrapped Rice's feet therein to keep them warm, and so awaited the end, sitting on the sled and holding his friend in his arms in the drifting snow. The courage, energy, and tenderness of Sergeant Frederick, who next day made a journey of twelve miles to bury his comrade, which he had not the strength to do before, is not a part of this story.

A. W. Greely

MOVEMENTS OF PROMISE IN THE AMERICAN CHURCHES

A RECENT report—widely featured in the newspapers—that a prominent American clergyman, whose devotional books have been sold by the tens and even hundreds of thousands, and whose influence in helping thoughtful young people of both sexes to feel that they can honestly join the Christian Church has been nation-wide, is to be attacked as a heretic in one of the larger Protestant denominations of the United States, is calculated to give English Christians a totally misleading impression of the present condition and future prospects of American Christianity. It is never safe to base our judgment of religious tendencies upon that part of the life of contemporary religion which is at the moment most vocal. When the storm is at its highest the barometer may be rising, and the spray which the wind dashes in our faces is often the most conclusive evidence of currents which are setting the other way.

The pages which follow will call attention to certain phases in the religious life of America which, though less dramatic and spectacular, may prove to be of more permanent significance. I shall speak of some movements of promise in the American Churches which should be of special interest, and I trust encouragement, to English-speaking Christians.

It is especially appropriate that such an article should appear in a Congregational journal. Congregationalists emphasize individual initiative and responsibility. Their polity is the most consistent expression of the democratic theory of religion. They are therefore peculiarly fitted to understand the problems which are faced by the Churches of the United States, where the State assumes no responsibility for the maintenance of religion, and organized Christianity must depend for its support upon the interest and loyalty of those who believe in it. Only a minority of the Christians of the United States are Congregational in theory, to be sure, but the spirit of Congregationalism is active in all the denominations. Even the Churches of Episcopal and Presbyterian polity are jealous of the rights of the individual, and distrustful of a strong central authority. Everywhere the local congregation enjoys a degree of independence not possessed by similar congregations in other lands.

This strongly developed sense of individual responsibilty explains some features in the religious life of America which puzzle the European visitor. It accounts for the number of different de-

nominations. It explains that over-churching of small communities which is one of the most disturbing features of the present situation. Where religion depends for its support upon the individual, competition is the inevitable result. Under pioneer conditions—with a continent to be peopled and a nation to be Christianized—there is much to be said for the American method. As life grows more settled and population becomes more congested, the wastefulness and inefficiency of the competitive system make themselves felt. An era begins in which co-operation is seen to be the great necessity, and the problem of reconciling individual initiative with a strong centralized authority grows acute.

The American people are entering upon such an era. In their religious life, as in their industry, combination is replacing competition over wide areas. But the readjustment of theory has not kept pace with the changes in practice. If the transition is to be made safely, there will be need of clear thinking. One of the encouraging features of the situation is that so many are beginning to perceive this need, and are taking measures to meet it. Denominationalism is under a fire of criticism, and various experiments are being tried both in the local community and in the Church at large which are designed either to replace it or to include it in some wider synthesis.

Of the many ways in which the Churches are beginning to respond to these new conditions, we shall consider only three: the new interest they are showing in the social application of religion, the use of the federative principle to secure common action without sacrificing freedom, and the effort—less spectacular, but in the long run still more significant—to lay the foundation for a united and effective ministry in a co-operative study of the theoretical problems which now divide Christians.

The attempt to apply Christian principles to man's social relationships is no new thing. It is the natural corollary of such elementary Christian convictions as the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. In Mediæval Catholicism the right of the Church to control all life was strenuously insisted on. Calvin in Geneva and the Puritans in New England were no less convinced that the State should be Christian than that the Church should be. Even the more individualistic forms of Protestantism included the service of man among the duties which the Christian owed to his God. The foreign missionary movement, primarily motived though it was by the desire to save individual souls, had from the first a strong social interest.

None the less it is true that, taking its history in the large, Protestantism has been disposed to accept the existing order and to concentrate its attention upon helping men to live as best they can under it. Let a man be honest in his business, loyal to his country, generous to the poor, and temperate and chaste in his

own personal life, and he will have done his duty as a Christian, as his Church interprets it to him.

But to-day, among large numbers of Christians, a new conviction is forming itself—the conviction that the individual Christian is responsible, not only for making the best use he can of the present social system, but for combining with his fellow Christians to change that system, so far as it is inconsistent with the Gospel. When Walter Rauschenbusch spoke of "Christianizing the social order," he coined a phrase which exactly defines what we have in mind. To Christianize the social order means to organize our common life—industrial, financial, political, international—on the principles of helpfulness and good-will; to substitute co-operation for selfish competition in our business, and conference for war as a means of settling disputes between nations. The ideal which inspires this attempt is often called the Social Gospel. The Social Gospel is only another name for consistent Christianity—Christianity thought through to its last implications, and put into practice without reserve. One of the notable features in contemporary American Christianity is the effort which is being made to understand what this attempt implies and to develop agencies through which it may be carried on.

One important indication of the strength of this social interest was the adoption in 1908 by the Federal Council of a statement known as *The Social Ideals of the Churches*. This statement deals with such matters as wages and hours of labour, the protection of women and children in industry, the right of the workman to sanitary conditions of labour and to proper representation in matters of dispute between himself and his employer. Originally put forth by a single denomination, this confession of social faith has acquired national significance through its adoption by the Federal Council, a body including some thirty of the leading Protestant denominations, and the fact that it has recently been attacked by certain powerful business interests would seem to indicate that it expresses a movement within the Churches important enough to deserve recognition.

But the Churches have not been content simply to make general affirmations. They have created agencies through which they can study the best methods of applying these principles to existing conditions, and, when occasion arises, can supplement what is being done by individuals by concerted action. Many of the larger denominations have appointed Social Service Commissions, which combine in the Social Service Commission of the Federal Council, for the consideration of the larger questions which affect all the denominations alike. The Research Department of this Commission issues a bi-weekly bulletin of information dealing with the moral and religious aspects of contemporary industrial questions.

Similar work is being done in the field of race by the Commission on the Church and Race Relations, and in that of international relations by the Commission on International Justice and Goodwill. The World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches also contributes to a Christian interpretation of the contemporary world situation by its bi-weekly news-letter.

This broader social interest is creating new contacts which are full of promise for the future. In more than one recent industrial dispute representatives of the Churches have made investigations which have done much to clarify the issue. The Inter-church Investigation of the Steel Strike is the best known example; but it is only one of many. In the Denver street-car strike the Social Service Commission of the Federal Council co-operated with the National Welfare Council of the Roman Catholic Church in a joint investigation and report. This new attitude on the part of the Churches was recognized by the American Federation of Labour at its last National Convention in a resolution which expressed appreciation of the helpful attitude of the Churches in industrial disputes. Especially significant is the increased interest of Christian people in international questions. The Churches did much to mobilize public opinion in support of the Washington Conference; and if their support has not yet been fully given to the League of Nations, this is not due to any lack of faith in the ideals for which it stands, but rather to the belief that in its present form it is too definitely committed to the decisions of the Treaty of Versailles to give it the freedom of action which the Christian conscience demands at the present crisis.

A reflex influence of this new attitude appears in the policy of the Missionary Societies. Without lessening their evangelistic interest, they are including social and educational features in their programme. The great cities of the East with their congested industrial population are seen to be home missionary territory as truly as the sparsely settled districts of the West, and the new problems created by the presence of a foreign-speaking population with alien antecedents and traditions are receiving increasing attention. It is not enough, we now see, to Christianize individual Americans; we must make America as a whole Christian.

This enlarged conception of the task of the American Churches has made Christian unity a living question. Organic union, as that term is commonly understood in Great Britain—that is, the attempt to unite the different Christian communions in a single corporate body with a common polity and a common creed—is not a living issue for most American Christians. This is not because they do not realize the importance of having a Church which can present a united front to the world, and give all those who belong to it the sense of spiritual fellowship with all their fellow Christians;

but because they believe that such unity is possible without the surrender of the independence which the different denominations now possess. National unity was achieved in the United States through a process of federation in which the different States combined for certain purposes while retaining other powers unimpaired. It is natural, therefore, for American Christians to attempt to solve the problem of religious unity by the method of federation.

It must be confessed that until recently, even in this modified form, the need of unity has not been acutely felt. The field has been broad; the work to be done great; the sense of individual responsibility keen. To a people accustomed from childhood to accept free competition as the law of business, the application of a similar principle to religion did not seem unnatural. Moreover, the mutual recognition of the different denominational ministries and the widespread practice of intercommunion have robbed denominationalism of some of the worst of its consequences. There are important groups, to be sure, who regard the differences which separate them from their fellow Christians as fundamental: of the great body of American Christians it has been true that the chief reason why it has been so hard to interest them in the task of Christian unity has been because they were convinced that they already possessed it.

Recent experiences have made this easy-going optimism no longer possible. The enlarged task has been seen to require a united Church, and the problem how to secure unity without sacrificing freedom is claiming the best thought of an increasing number of Christians. From a number of different centres experiments are being tried which, however much they may differ in detail, are alike in this that they use the principle of federation as a solution of the problem of unity.

This is true in the local community. Here, where the evils of over-churching have been most acute and the limitations of private initiative most apparent, we find a movement for unification and consolidation springing up, which owes its origin to no concerted action, but to the initiative of the people themselves. We may call it the movement for a Community Church.

The Community Church, as the name implies, is a Church which ministers to all the people, at least all the Protestant people, in its locality. It is the revival in American Protestantism of the principle of the parish, that most salutary old-world institution of which our denominationalism has so largely robbed us.

The movement has assumed many different forms. Sometimes existing denominational lines are ignored, and a fresh start is made. Sometimes the principle of federation is applied to the smallest of all possible units, and Baptists, Congregationalists and Presbyterians are combined in a single congregation. Sometimes unity is secured

through the withdrawal of all the existing Churches but one, which remains as it were the trustee of the common religious interests of the community. But in each case the principle is the same. It is the principle of unity in variety—the resolute determination to substitute the principle of co-operation for that of competition.

The Community Church movement is still in its infancy. How many such Churches there are, how fast they are growing, no one knows. Of Union Churches, as the first type is often called, there are several hundred; of Federated Churches as many more; while the number of Community Churches of the third type must run into thousands. The reflex influence of the movement is beginning to make itself felt in ecclesiastical circles, and is powerfully affecting denominational policy. In the State of Vermont, with the good-will of the respective Home Missions Boards, no less than eighty Churches in thirty-eight localities have gone on a Community basis in four years. In Montana the Home Missions authorities of the State have combined in an "Every Community Endeavour," one of the features of which is the development, wherever possible, of a Community Church of the denominational type.

In larger centres the impulse to unity takes the form of the Federation of Churches. In forty-five cities, practically all the cities with a population of over 100,000, many of the leading congregations have united in a Federation or Council, with an annual budget and a paid executive. These Federations are co-operating in various forms of civic and social activity. In Atlanta excellent work has been done in securing publicity for Christian interests, notably through a series of remarkable editorials in the *Atlanta Constitution*. In Dayton provision has been made for a worker in the Juvenile Courts, who represents united Protestantism. Portland has developed a department of international justice and good-will. Boston has been active on behalf of political prisoners. Chicago has given special attention to work in public institutions. In many cities campaigns of evangelism have been undertaken by the pastors. Interdenominational schools for the common training of Sunday-school teachers have been maintained. Annual Congresses have been held which have been largely attended, where experiences have been shared and methods studied. A new civic consciousness is being developed.

From the cities the movement is already beginning to extend to the States. Massachusetts has for years had a State Federation which has rendered effective service; and similar federations are found in other States.

A similar development is going on in the administrative and missionary agencies. For years the executives of the different missionary and educational Boards of the denominations have been

meeting together, and their conferences—at first informal and tentative—have resulted in the formation of interdenominational Councils. It would be interesting, if there were time, to describe the operation of these Councils in detail, for their work is one of the most fruitful and encouraging manifestations of contemporary American Protestantism. Suffice it to say that, while scrupulously observing their representative character, these Councils are more and more assuming administrative functions. The Foreign Missions Conference has carried on significant studies in the field of missionary education, and is the agent through which the united Churches deal with the difficult diplomatic questions which may arise in the foreign field. The Home Missions Council maintains standing Committees which address themselves to the common problems which face all the Churches alike—such as the problem of the negro, of the Spanish American, of the immigrant, of the Indian and the like. In co-operation with the Women's Council for Home Missions, the Council is producing a much needed literature of interpretation, publishing text-books and conducting journals in a number of different languages. In like manner the Sunday-school Council unites different agencies dealing with the many-sided problems of the Sunday-school, and the Council of Church Boards of Education is acting in the same way for higher education.

A significant feature of the missionary activity of the American Churches is the increasing part taken in its management by women. Not only have the women their own Boards, which raise and expend large sums of money ; not only are there important fields of administrative responsibility which by common consent have been assigned to them ; but they are associated with men in the central federating agencies we have described, as well as in many denominational Boards. The women's Boards, like the men's, are members of the Foreign Missions Conference, and the Council of Women for Home Missions meets jointly with the Men's Council and is represented on all its important Committees. This is but one indication of the increasing recognition given to women in various spheres of the Church's work. In all denominations of congregational polity women as well as men may serve as ministers. In other Churches they are given large and increasing administrative responsibility. A significant landmark was the action recently taken by the Northern Baptists, one of the largest and most representative of the American denominations, in electing a woman, Mrs. Helen Montgomery, to be their President.

The federation movement culminates in the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America—the organization through which the spirit of unity in American Protestantism finds its most signal and effective expression. Called into existence in 1908 through the

action of more than thirty co-operating bodies, it consists of a body of delegates officially appointed by their constituent bodies for the purposes set forth in the Constitution as follows:

(1) To express the fellowship and catholic unity of the Christian Churches.
(2) To bring the Christian bodies of America into united service for Christ and the world.
(3) To encourage devotional fellowship and mutual counsel concerning the spiritual life and religious activities of the Churches.
(4) To secure a larger combined influence for the Churches in all matters affecting the moral and social conditions of the people, so as to promote the application of the law of Christ in every relation of human life.

These delegates meet in Council once in four years, or more often if they shall so decide. In the interim the authority of the Council is exercised through an executive Committee of one hundred members which meets annually, and a smaller but representative administrative Committee which meets monthly. The work of the Council is carried on by permanent Committees known as Commissions, made up of persons interested in the matters with which they deal, and so far as possible representative of the constituent denominational bodies. The most important have paid secretaries, who, with the general secretaries and officers, form the Secretarial Council.

The history of the Federal Council parallels that of the other federations of which we have been speaking. Beginning in a modest and tentative way, and relying for its support mainly upon the interest of individuals, it has increasingly gained the confidence of the Churches and come to be regarded as an indispensable agency of American Protestantism. In important fields of Christian activity it is doing effective work—notably those of evangelism, social service, race relations, and international justice and good-will. It is the agent through which the American Churches hold official relation with their own Government and with the sister Churches of Europe, and the voice through which the common mind of American Protestantism finds most effective utterance. Whether it will succeed in realizing its full possibilities, and becoming the agent through which the unity of American Protestantism will find adequate expression, will depend upon two things: (1) whether the denominations which are now constituent members assume complete responsibility for its financial support; (2) whether those denominations like the Lutheran and the Protestant Episcopal, which now hold only consultative and partial relations to it, assume full membership. Real progress is being made along both these lines, but to tell the story in detail would carry us too far afield.

The movement for unity between the denominations is paralleled by a corresponding movement for unity within the denominations.

Churches of congregational polity like the Baptists and Congregationalists are creating central administrative agencies through which they can function during the interval between conventions. Churches of Presbyterian and Episcopal polity are feeling the same need and providing for it in the same way. The Lutherans, until recently the most divided of all the denominational groups, have given the most encouraging example of reunion. Three of their larger bodies have come together to form the United Lutheran Church, and seventeen bodies co-operate in the National Lutheran Council. No doubt there is danger in this reviving denominational consciousness, yet, unless the different bodies to be united create agencies strong enough to function effectively, it is difficult to see how the larger federal movement can succeed.

No account of the present condition of Church life in America would be complete which did not take account of the work done by the voluntary societies, like the Bible Society, the Sabbath and Temperance Associations, the Christian Endeavour Society, and, above all, the Young Men's and the Young Women's Christian Associations. In the past these societies, while cordially co-operating with the Churches and professing to be their agents for special tasks, have enjoyed large freedom, and planned their programmes in complete independence. With the growing sense of the unity of the task, the need of closer relations to the Churches is being increasingly felt by the leaders on both sides, and the question of the best way to bring this about is being actively discussed.

It is too soon to predict what will be the outcome of the different movements thus briefly sketched, but it is clear that they are not independent and unrelated, but parts of a single movement which affects the American Churches as a whole. In the new agencies which are being created, and still more in the new spirit which is creating them, it may well be that we see the first beginnings of a National Church—a Church which, federal in name, and in the philosophy of its organization, may yet, in its sense of spiritual unity and in its power to deal with great questions in a large way, become as truly an example of organic unity as the nation which came to birth in a similar way.

One more feature of the present situation needs brief mention before we bring our survey to a close, and that is the attempt which is being made from a number of different centres to lay the theoretical foundations for the movement for unity in a co-operative study of the questions of principle which now divide Christians.

It is at this point that our American Christianity has hitherto been weakest. In our haste to do we have been too busy to think. We have realized, to be sure, the importance of religious education. We have multiplied our Sunday-schools and our theological seminaries. We have spent money freely for buildings and been tireless in devising

new methods, but the question whether the things we were doing were really the most important things, or—if important—whether we were doing them in the most effective and appealing way, has not yet been given the attention it deserved. In our secular education we have long recognized that research and teaching must go hand in hand. In religious education we have failed to lay the basis for effective teaching in co-operative research.

We are discovering our mistake. The more earnestly we face the tasks which confront us, the more we realize our need of common study if our efforts are to be intelligent and successful. If we are to work together, we must first think together, and for this we need contact and sympathy.

This is true all along the line. It is true of the social application of the gospel. It is not hard to secure agreement on generalities. That we should express our Christianity in the wages we pay, the hours we work, the conditions under which we live, we may confidently assert. But what is a Christian wage? What is the standard of health and of housing which the Gospel requires, and what are the methods by which the transition from our present practice to our ideal should be brought about? Above all, what should be our attitude to those who do not accept our principles, with whom we must yet live under the same laws and co-operate in national and in international affairs? Here are problems for the mind, on which men of equal sincerity may come to different conclusions. If the Churches are to function effectively in social affairs, they must have a platform on which they can stand together. This means that they must organize their thinking. It is not enough to pass resolutions. We must take time to sit down together and think our problems through. It is not only our real differences which keep us apart. Our supposed differences are often quite as divisive. If we must differ, let us differ on real issues and only after conference has made clear the measure of unity we possess.

Significant progress is being made in this effort to reach a common understanding. We not only recognize our need of common study. We are creating the agencies through which that common study can be carried on. The Research Department of the Social Service Commission of the Federal Council is such an agency; and so within the different denominations are the different social service commissions. The Boards of Home and Foreign Missions are setting apart men and women for the study of special fields and perplexing questions; and in the interdenominational sphere the Home Missions Council, the Foreign Missions Conference, and the Council of Church Boards of Education have valuable pieces of co-operative research to their credit.

Of special interest is the work recently done by the Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook. This is an interdenomina-

tional Committee consisting of representatives of the larger Protestant Churches as well as of the two Christian Associations. It was constituted in April 1918 by the Federal Council of the Churches, " to consider the state of religion as affected by the war, with special reference to the duty and opportunity of the Churches, and to prepare its findings for submission to the Churches." Conceived under the shadow of war strain and of war responsibility, and beginning its work while the Armistice was still in the indefinite future, it has continued its studies during the years of reconstruction, and found the reasons which at first sight seemed to justify its appointment amply reinforced. Originally consisting of nine members, it has added to its numbers until its present membership consists of twenty-eight, representing nine different denominations, as well as the two Christian Associations. Among the subjects it has studied have been the state of religion among the soldiers, the missionary outlook in the light of the war, the Church and industrial reconstruction, the teaching work of the Church, and the present status of the movement for Christian unity. It has five substantial volumes to its credit, with a sixth to follow, as well as a number of pamphlets on important contemporary subjects.

The generous response given to the work of this Committee by men of very different theological and ecclesiastical views has led to the belief that the time is ripe for a similar experiment on a larger scale. It is proposed, therefore, to hold within the next few years a National Conference on the Christian Way of Life, in which subjects not covered by the Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook may be studied, and the co-operation of a larger number of persons enlisted. The Federal Council has appointed a committee to arrange for this Conference, which, while unofficial in character, will, it is hoped, be so constituted as to represent the best thought of the different Christian communions on the subjects to be discussed. Among these subjects are the Christian attitude to industry, the Christian view of race, the responsibility of the Church in international affairs, and the social mission of the Church. It is hoped to do some consistent thinking in these difficult fields—thinking which will clarify the existing situation, command national attention and respect, and make concerted action possible within the field of discovered agreement.

This effort to organize the Churches of America for constructive co-operative thinking is full of promise for the future. If the Churches are to be adequate to their unparalleled responsibility, they must enlist the services of men and women who believe that it is worth while to think consistently, and who are willing to take the time which consistent thinking requires. It is cause for encouragement that such men and women have been found, and that they have begun their work. It is still greater cause for encouragement that

what we are planning to do in the United States English Christians have already begun to do in Great Britain. When in each country groups of open-minded Christians are organized for the co-operative study of their common tasks, and these groups in turn combine with one another to form an international Christian opinion, there is no limit to the beneficent practical consequences which may follow.

W. Adams Brown.

CONGREGATIONALISM IN LITERATURE

But our most interesting voyage was in the *John Williams*, a little barque of only 300 tons, our fellow-voyagers missionaries bound for their solitary homes in the South Pacific Islands. We were six weeks, beating up against head winds nearly all the way to the Island of Raiatea—one of the Society Islands. So much was this the case that only one day we could say " we were not going a knot that was not a knot on our course." It was specially pleasant to be on board a vessel on which a thoroughly Christian influence prevailed—no bad language. The skipper never bullied the mates, the mates never bullied the sailors, and even the cabin boy had a good time. We had religious services twice every day, and sometimes the crew took part in them, and I do not forget the prayer of a young sailor whose life had been completely changed during the voyage—" Oh Lord, hasten the time when every ship shall be a Bethel and every sailor's heart a temple for Thy Holy Spirit to dwell in."—Mr. Walter Robson : " Long Voyages 56 Years Ago " (*Friends' Quarterly Examiner*. Fourth Month, 1923).

In most isles, especially those held by France, there are some Roman Catholics, but the large majority everywhere belong to one or other of the English or American religious bodies, by whom missions were sent out—Congregationalists, Wesleyans, and Seventh Day Adventists. The agreeable picture of the missionaries which R. L. Stevenson presents in his South Sea stories is, so far as the hasty traveller can gather, a pretty true picture. They have done a great deal both for the education and the health of the natives.—Lord Bryce : " The Isles of the Southern Pacific " (1912) in *Memories of Travel.*

PERSONAL MEMORIES OF PROMINENT MINISTERS

My friend Dr. Forsyth, in one of the last conversations we held together, urged me to write my reminiscences of eminent ministers of two or three generations ago, as he feared that people were already forgetting their work, and even their names. Until now I have hesitated to do so, but an unexpected request from the Editor of our new Quarterly sets it before me as a duty which I must no longer evade. Two privileges I have enjoyed seem to fit me for the task (in addition to the qualification furnished by a long ministerial career)—the one, that the affection in which my father was held early gained for me a gracious welcome from distinguished men whom I could not otherwise have approached; the other, that the considerable part I have taken during the last half-century in the management of our societies, trusts, colleges and schools has naturally brought me into personal contact with nearly all our leaders.

"James Rowland of Henley" was once a name to conjure with, and all through my life I have proved the truth of the proverb, "a good name is rather to be chosen than great riches." Though he was the minister of a comparatively small country Church, my father was a frequent and welcome preacher in the famous Surrey Chapel, and in Hoxton and Bristol Tabernacles, which in those days were served by "monthly supplies" instead of by "stated ministers." Indeed, he was in very general request, for his pulpit appeals were simple, impassioned and spiritually effective in a remarkable degree. He always acted on the counsel he impressed on me: "When you preach, think of the old woman at the door; speak loud enough for her to hear, and simply enough for her to understand." Long before the office was established among us he was a "moderator," adjusting disputes and introducing ministers and Churches to each other, especially in the Berks, South Oxon and South Bucks Association.

When I was about ten years of age, William Jay of Argyle Chapel, Bath, came to preach an anniversary sermon at Henley, and I still seem to see him seated on the sofa in our drawing-room, a little man with a crop of curly grey hair and a humorous face. He was dressed in a swallow-tail coat, knee-breeches, black silk stockings, and shoes resplendent with bright silver buckles. His wife, who waited on him assiduously—perhaps, I might say, adoringly—brought him an egg beaten up in sherry, and when he declined it,

she pleaded, "Do drink it—I have prepared it with my own dear hands." Some of our ministerial forefathers expected a good deal of such adulation, which would be neither offered nor accepted now. Jay's conversation that day, much of which my father often laughingly repeated, was redolent of quaint humour. Discussing the absence of provision for the retirement of ministers whose work was done (a scandal we still have to lament and remedy), he grimly suggested that the best and kindest plan for relieving the Church of a burden, and the aged minister of penury, would be to arrange a farewell service at which the old man should be seated alone in a central pew, and that after thanksgiving, prayer and a suitable address, he should be solemnly shot, like an old horse, by one of the deacons! Beneath the humour there lay pathos and tragedy, which probably no one felt more than the speaker. He was much interested in our beautiful manse garden, and after glancing at the gravestones in it, memorials of departed worthies, he remarked, with a whimsical smile: "I like this garden. It is such a good place to bury deacons in." As a preacher he was wonderfully popular, and equal, in this respect, to his contemporary, Angell James of Birmingham.

Another minister of the old school, whom I knew slightly, was Thomas Adkins of Above Bar, Southampton. As a student at New College I had been preaching in Albion Chapel for my former schoolfellow, Septimus March, and after the morning service was walking with one of the deacons, who had kindly offered me hospitality. Turning into the High Street, he exclaimed: "There is Mr. Adkins coming this way. We are all proud of him. I must introduce you." The pompous old gentleman swept down towards us like a ship in full sail, stately and gorgeous. In person and dress he closely resembled His Majesty George IV, who was often spoken of as "the first gentleman in Europe." He walked slowly and with great dignity, leaning on a long tasselled staff, and glancing from side to side that he might receive and return the salutes which were general. My introduction having been duly effected, he looked me up and down and said: "So you are a son of James Rowland of Henley." "I have that honour, sir." "Then, sir, I hope you will be as good a man as your father; but I don't think you will be, sir, until you go to heaven. Good-morning, sir," and with a stately bow he left me. Even a Bishop nowadays would fail to attain such dignified ceremoniousness, while a Nonconformist minister would probably content himself with saying, "Well, my boy, how are you?"

Dr. Arnold Thomas has already made some reference to Thomas Binney, but I may venture to supplement his remarks by a few personal reminiscences which will throw further light on one of our outstanding leaders. Many touches are necessary to

depict so great a man. When my father was a student in Wymondley (afterwards Coward) College with Edward Miall, Thomas Ford, and others, Binney often came over to spend an evening with the men, for he had only just left the College and settled in Bedford, which was at no great distance—sufficiently near for him to drive over—so that the friendship between the two was formed early, and it endured to the end. Binney was a man of magnificent presence, above the average in height, with a glorious head, piercing eyes, and full melodious voice. His chapel, known as the King's Weigh House, was just opposite the Monument. He possessed, or was possessed by, a highly nervous temperament, and was easily irritated by trifles, such as noise or movement in the congregation. Two young men who had come to the Weigh House service rather late were making their way down to a front seat in the gallery, when the preacher exclaimed: "There! sit down quietly, and don't be late again!" When he was giving the charge at the ordination of my friend C. E. B. Reed, in Warminster Chapel in 1871, a man in the crowded assembly appeared to be unable to repress his cough, though Binney paused more than once and looked at him, as only he could look. At last he came to a dead stop and beckoned a deacon up the pulpit stairs. Producing from his waistcoat pocket a few lozenges in paper, he said: "Take these to that poor man who can't stop his cough, will you?" The nervous shock cured the affliction, for the man coughed no more, though he never got the lozenges. Years afterwards that deacon showed them to me, having kept them as a memento, which proved to be the more valuable because the occasion was almost the last on which Binney preached; indeed, that day he was seated throughout the entire service. At the opening of Harecourt Chapel, Canonbury, he found before him on the pulpit desk a handsome cushion which had been worked by a lady member of the Church. At once he pulled it off, and placing it on the seat, sat on it, to her intense indignation. Many such incidents are told of him. He was kind and fatherly to me as a student and as a young minister. Six months before my college curriculum was finished I received a unanimous invitation from the Church at Enfield, on which I asked his advice. He probably did not wish to disparage the Church, or to discourage me, and gave me the enigmatical reply: "Well, the best thing I can say about the place is that it is outside the London postal district," which I took to mean that I had better decline. I did so, and introduced my friend, Henry Storer Toms, who spent more than forty happy and successful years in that pastorate. Mr. Binney (for he always objected to the use of his doctorate) was unable to come to my ordination, but wrote me a gracious letter, which now lies before me. In it he gave such good advice that it is worth quoting and recording for the benefit of another generation:

Work hard; don't do *anything* negligently; always, in everything, do your best; remember, God will help you most in the pulpit when you have done the most and best you could in preparation in the study. Be wise and prudent in speech and behaviour; be sedate, not affectedly gloomy; cheerful, but not frivolous; keep your heart whole and free, if it be so now, and don't get into any scrapes with young women—by-and-by you will know better than now how to move in such matters. Take heed to thyself and to the doctrine, and may God help you to be a good minister of Jesus Christ.

Binney did much for the musical services in our churches, and his prayers were unsurpassed in dignity, breadth, and beauty of expression. He did more, I think, than any other man to revolutionize preaching, making it more practical and more conversational than it had been; still thoughtful and suggestive, but not technically theological. He abjured gown, bands, and kid gloves, which had appeared in all their glory in the pulpits of Dr. Collier and George Clayton. Except for a few volumes of sermons on Joseph, on the Heroes of Hebrews xi, and on "How to make the Best of Both Worlds," and his inspired hymn, "Eternal Light," he left little behind him which would show the measure of his greatness. He did not make books, but he made *men*, of whom Samuel Morley was a type. One day, when dining with him and his wife in their Clapton home, I ventured on some appreciative reference to his famous hymn. "Oh," said he, "I never wrote another. I don't know how I came to write that. It just came to me." And truly it was not manufactured but inspired.

The gallery of my memory is so long and so crowded with pictures that I must confine myself to one room in it where are the portraits of men who belonged to the generation immediately preceding my own, and I will resist the temptation to refer to personal friends such as J. B. Brierley, P. T. Forsyth, C. S. Horne, and R. W. Thompson, and to my college classmates, Morell Blackie, Llewellyn Bevan, Samuel Pearson, and H. S. Toms.

When I came to London in 1875 I found there a group of seven or eight men almost equalling one another in position and influence, all of whom held long pastorates in London, and—with one exception—were born in the same decade, 1813 to 1823. To these I will now refer.

Joshua Harrison of Camden Town was a son of the manse, his father having been a Congregational minister at Core's End, Woburn. The anniversary services of this Church it was the delight of the son to conduct until the infirmities of old age prevented. It was my privilege to accompany him on his last visit in order to relieve him by conducting the two services, but, at my urgent request and to the people's delight, he read one of the Scripture lessons and spoke words of wisdom and love for over twenty minutes. I never heard him again. Two years later he died in a good old age.

Like Samuel Parkinson, Given Wilson, my college chum, Morell Blackie, and myself, he began life at I. & R. Morley's, and we all owed much to the business habits formed there. Joshua Harrison was a singularly good-looking man, with fine presence and beautiful voice, and as a pastor he was pre-eminent.

John Stoughton was his intimate friend, and they were often alluded to as David and Jonathan. He began his ministry in Windsor, and supported my father when he moved and carried a resolution committing the County Associations to meet for the future in vestries or schoolrooms, and no longer in public-houses, in which till then long clay pipes and beer had been provided for the ministers and delegates. Soon afterwards Stoughton became the minister of Kensington Chapel, where he maintained for many years a cultured and beneficent pastorate. He was a dignified and scholarly man, whose historical researches and literary gifts made him known and honoured far beyond the bounds of the denomination.

Newman Hall, who belonged to the same group, was a spare, alert, handsome man, with an aloofness of manner which made him appear somewhat unapproachable to his younger brethren, though he was beloved in his own immediate circle. In style he was what is called a "popular preacher." His addresses were enriched with illustrations and anecdotes, and were delivered with abundant gesture and in a powerful voice. On summer Sunday evenings I saw and heard him more than once at the Obelisk in Blackfriars Road. He walked down there after his regular service, still attired in gown and bands and accompanied by the choir, to address the crowd gathered by Mr. Murphy, the famous Surrey Chapel missionary. There and then he was at his best. He has a worthy memorial in the splendid building known as Christ Church, Westminster Bridge Road, the Lincoln tower adorning which was erected by his admirers in the United States—the result of his lecturing tour in that country.

Similarly, the memory of Henry Allon will always be associated with the magnificent Union Chapel, Islington. He was an essayist in the pulpit rather than an orator, but he gathered around him a notable Church, and exercised a wide influence over the men of his day. The musical service in Union Chapel was for many years the best in our churches. He edited, with Dr. Gauntlett, the *Congregational Psalmist*, which was widely used. I knew him well, for he belonged to the North London Ministerial Breakfast Party, which he loyally supported by his presence. It was at one of these social gatherings that I saw him for the last time. Instead of rising to greet us, as usual, he apologized for keeping his foot up on the sofa, though he laughingly repudiated our suggestion of gout. He was glad, however, to lean heavily on my arm as we moved into the next room, and in a few days he passed quietly

away in his sleep, from suppressed gout. His work, not only as a preacher but as a writer, and as the Editor of the *British Quarterly*, ought not to be forgotten.

Guinness Rogers I knew more intimately than any of the foregoing. Indeed, when he was bereaved of his beloved wife, he did me the honour of asking me to conduct the funeral service in his desolated home. After it was over and the mourners had left for the cemetery, I remained with him at his request, and I shall never forget our sweet and intimate talk about the future life, which he himself soon afterwards entered. To those who only knew him on the platform as a fiery Irish orator he did not appear to be the loving humble-minded man he really was. On the platform of the Congregational Union he was in his element. He was *facile princeps* among our political and ecclesiastical leaders. I knew no man who could so quickly rouse an audience to enthusiasm. He was better on the platform than in the pulpit, though he maintained for many years a large and influential congregation in Grafton Square, Clapham. In his day he rendered magnificent service to Liberalism, Nonconformity, and Education, particularly by a campaign through the country which he undertook with his friend Robert Dale of Birmingham, whose logic was as convincing as Rogers' oratory was inspiring. This leads me to make some reference to Dale, who was not only an eloquent speaker, but a leader in theological thought, some of his writings being of permanent value. I remember Dr. Gore saying to me : " I have just been reading the Life of your Dr. Dale, with intense interest. He was a saint of God, sir —a saint of God." On one occasion I had a striking proof of his unaffected modesty. I had been delegated with another (I think Dr. Kennedy) to wait on Dale in order to learn whether he could be persuaded to accept the Principalship of New College. His reply was terse, and, from such a man, startling. " No, I don't feel that I know enough of theology." Dale was a strongly built man of medium height, with a shock of black hair and a swarthy face, the latter leading to a tale—at one time a chestnut—which I believe was traced to the humorous imagination of Parkinson of Rochdale. A lady who had always refused to contribute to the London Missionary Society, having no faith in missions to the heathen, was persuaded to attend a missionary meeting at which Dale spoke with his usual eloquence. To the surprise of the treasurer she contributed a £5 note at the close of the meeting. " I am very glad," said he, " to receive this for the good cause, but I thought you did not believe in missions ? " " True," was her reply, " but when I saw what the grace of God had done for that poor black man I was glad to give."

Alexander Hannay I knew particularly well, for he was Chairman of the " Supply Committee " which brought me to London, and

my loyal supporter to the day of his death. It was always a delight to me to see his beautiful head, with silvery hair and beard, side by side with the dignified figure of Lady Reed, for they sat in adjoining pews near the pulpit. I can hardly say that we were intimate, for he had the reticence characteristic of Scotsmen, and something of their clannishness too. For example, on one occasion he bewailed to me the fact that his fellow-countrymen—solid, trustworthy, and theologically sound—were being displaced as leaders of London Congregationalism by Welshmen, with what he called their "flashy rhetoric." He would doubtless have reversed Morlais Jones's remark to me—"Rowland, all that is good in you is Welsh." Hannay himself was rather dull as a preacher, but as a debater I have never heard his equal. It was a treat to hear him and Carvell Williams, as we often did, at the monthly meetings of our Book Society, and no one who was present can forget his oratorical duel with Joseph Parker in the Memorial Hall. It was a fight between men armed respectively with bludgeon and rapier, and the rapier victoriously pierced between the joints of Parker's armour, to that great man's obvious discomfiture and anger. As Edward White said to me on our way out: "I call it Joseph making himself known unto his brethren."

James Baldwin Brown was a thinker and preacher whom I often heard in my business days, for I passed "Claylands" Chapel on my way to my grandfather's at Clapham. He was a man of noble and fearless spirit, regarded as a heretic by many, always ready for a tilt against conventional beliefs and methods, and a vigorous defender of Independency as distinguished from Congregationalism; indeed, to this day the Church erected for him is known as "Brixton Independent Church," and a man of like spirit is its minister. When Baldwin Brown became Chairman of the Congregational Union, as he did in spite of some opposition, he chose as his subject the story in 2 Samuel vi, about the ark of God being set on a "new cart," and, though he made no direct mention of the Union, we could all read his meaning and enjoy it. I came to know him personally as a visitor to Charles E. Mudie, who was a member of my congregation. When staying as his guest on Muswell Hill he delivered a remarkable series of lectures in our church on the character and destiny of nations as affected by their natural boundaries, geographical position, etc. It was somewhat on the lines of Buckle's *History of Civilization*. When I went to recuperate at Davos am Platz I was delighted to find him there. We had several walks together, and I was surprised to discover that, though he appeared to be a delicate man, and was there for his health, his strength and vigour were such that he could walk up a steep mountain side almost as if it was level ground, and he told me that he did not notice much difference between them! I did.

Turning aside now for a moment from our Congregational leaders, some reference may be made to the most popular preacher of that period, Charles Haddon Spurgeon.

When he came to London as minister of Park Street Chapel, off the Borough Road, I went to hear the "boy preacher from Essex." At that time he had very little seriousness of manner. He seemed bubbling over with fun. The chapel was crowded, though a few months before it had been derelict. After a short service, the rite of Baptism was administered to about a score of young people, Mr. Olney standing on one side of the baptistry steps, another deacon facing him. Spurgeon, attired in a Genevan gown, descended into the water, receiving and immersing one candidate after another. One young man, tall and lank, with long black hair, was among them, and as he came up dripping with water, he looked woe-begone to the last degree. "Oh," said Spurgeon, with a gleam of mischief in his eye, "*he* went on his way rejoicing." It was more than a ripple of laughter that ran round the place. A couple of years afterwards I made my way to the Surrey Music Hall, to which the congregation had meanwhile migrated. The place was crammed to an extent which would not be tolerated now (this led ultimately to a dire catastrophe). Arriving early, I secured a good seat in the corner of one of the benches next to the people crowded in the aisle. Noticing an old gentleman standing close beside me, I naturally offered him my seat, which, after a little demur, he gratefully accepted. At the close of the service he put his hand on my shoulder and said, "I hope, young man, that when you are old, others will be as kind to you" (a hope which has been abundantly fulfilled). "I shall be pleased to give you a seat in another place whenever you ask for it. Don't forget. Here is my card." On it was, "The Marquis of Lansdowne." And he was by no means the only aristocratic admirer of the great preacher. During the Down-grade controversy Spurgeon maintained that many Baptist, and nearly all Congregational, ministers were hurrying fast on the downward road theologically, and he frankly told me that none of us knew where we were or what we believed. He was a man with absolute confidence in his own message, which he delivered in the simplest language and in a voice clear, far-reaching, and sweet as a silver bell. Preparation cost him little. I ventured to ask him how he had prepared a magnificent speech in Exeter Hall on behalf of the Bible Society. "Well," said he, "I was not able to prepare properly that day. Letters and callers kept me busy till the brougham was at the door. So I just took down one of these volumes which are full of extracts from books which have interested me. Looking into it, I said to myself, 'That will do, and that, and that.' Then, when I was in the carriage, the thing worked itself out in my mind, and when it had done so, of course, I had no further trouble." Nor

had he. Appropriate and effective language flowed like a mountain stream from his lips, and that morning the stream was in spate. Reporters have testified that Spurgeon's sermons and John Bright's speeches, unlike those of other orators, could be written and printed exactly as they were delivered.

Thomas Toke Lynch was in every respect a contrast to Spurgeon, but he was likewise well worthy to be had in remembrance. He was a fragile man, with a singularly small head, a pale face, and a feeble voice. In style, as in genius, he was indeed remarkable. His sermons were delivered with his eyes fixed on the ceiling instead of on the congregation, but they were interesting and often suggestive, as any reader of the sayings of "Theophilus Trinal" knows. He suffered constantly from pain, as did Robert Hall and F. W. Robertson, and he would sometimes roll on the floor of his study in agony. He was only fifty-three when he died. His little volume of hymns provoked what was known as "the Rivulet" controversy, which began with a savage criticism of the book by Dr. John Campbell, Editor of the *British Standard*. The *Patriot*, which was then the official organ of Congregationalism (alas! we have none now, and therefore welcome the QUARTERLY the more heartily) defended the poet, and the controversy was waged ferociously week after week for many months. One is glad to remember that our leading ministers, to many of whom reference has been made, were unanimous in their support of the man to whom we owe such hymns as "The Lord is rich and merciful"; "Love me, O Lord, forgivingly"; "Gracious Spirit, dwell with me"; "Dismiss me not Thy service, Lord"; and others equally beautiful.

I think Henry Ward Beecher was the greatest orator I ever heard. He came over during the Civil War in America to win the sympathies of the English people on behalf of the North. With the exception of most Nonconformists and of the so-called working-classes, public opinion was at that time largely in favour of the Southerners, partly because they were regarded as "gentlemen," and partly because their success would probably have resulted in splitting up the States as Europe was split up. The power of a great commercial rival would thus have been diminished. It must be remembered, however, that the question of slavery was not a vital factor in the early part of the struggle. Beecher on his arrival spoke, or tried to speak, in Liverpool. For nearly two hours he struggled bravely to make himself heard amid the hisses and howls of an enormous crowd. The same sort of reception awaited him in London. Exeter Hall, when I managed to fight my way into it, was packed to the doors by an excited mob, many of whom had evidently resolved to howl down the speaker. I was in a knot of young fellows who, I fear, made as much noise as we could on the other side. After a few remarks from the Chairman, Beecher rose. For

upwards of a quarter of an hour the uproar was too great for us to hear a single word; but when his opponents saw that he was calmly dictating his speech to the reporters below, the futility of their conduct began to be evident. At last, during a short break, the orator got in his first sentence, which was to this effect: "Last night after the meeting in Liverpool my voice was gone. Alone in my room at the hotel I besought the God of Peace to give it back for use to-night, even if I never was able to use it again." The sympathy and chivalry of many were aroused, and in a few minutes the speaker had the great audience under control, and swayed them as he wished. It was the finest triumph of oratory, inspired by patriotism, I ever saw. Fortunately for me, Beecher was anxious, during his short stay in London, to learn something about our theological colleges, and, as the Secretary of the New College students at that time, the pleasant duty of inviting him to meet the men of Cheshunt, Hackney, New and Regent's Park Colleges fell to me. This invitation he accepted, and in making preliminary arrangements invited me to tea and talk with him in Morley's Hotel, Charing Cross, where he was staying. I felt this to be a great honour, and spent over an hour in conversation with him; nor shall I ever forget the graciousness and charm of one of the biggest men I ever met.

Many stories connected with the name of Joseph Parker have passed into general currency, and so have become trite, but I am able to add two or three fresh from the mint of my memory. This I can do because, with the exception of Samuel Newth and Vaughan Pryce, I was permitted to enjoy greater intimacy with him, I suppose, than any other minister from the time when, as a lad at college, I met him in Llandudno, on his second wedding trip. One Saturday morning his brougham stopped at the door of my house in Crouch End, rather to my dismay, for I was hard pressed with preparation for the morrow. He announced that he had not come on business, but for the refreshment of a brotherly talk, and to me at least it was refreshing. For over an hour he entertained me with most interesting narratives of his own experiences, one of which was this: "Last Thursday, after my lecture, a young minister came into my vestry and asked me to introduce him to another Church. 'Impossible,' I replied. 'I don't know you.' 'True, sir, but (producing a column or two from some local paper) I have here an account of my last anniversary.' 'I have no time to read it. Have you a sermon with you?' He happened to have one in his pocket. I said, 'Go into that corner and *preach* it!'" Here Parker, with admirable mimicry, gave me the text and a few sentences in the artificial voice of an uninspired curate. "'Stop,' I said. 'That will do. We are here to criticize, not to commend, and my criticism is this: You have plenty in here (tapping his

big head), but you will never get it in *there*' " (pointing his finger towards an imaginary audience). In that sentence he revealed the secret of failure in the ministry on the part of some men distinguished for ability and scholarship.

Parker's memory was marvellous, and I may give one example of it. I was visiting him in his house in Lyndhurst Gardens, and in the course of conversation (though I had not gone there with any such purpose) I said : " It is long since you preached for me. Can you come over one Wednesday afternoon and do so ? " " Certainly, whenever you like." " Will June 16th suit you ? " " Yes ; I will be there. But write down the date and the church on this piece of paper." Glancing at it when I had done so, he said : " That's all right." " Better make a note of it at once in your engagement book," I suggested. " I have no engagement book—never had one." " But surely you cannot remember all your numerous engagements for many months ahead ! " " I always do." Then he explained : " If you had merely *asked* me, I should have forgotten it in a couple of hours ; but you wrote it, and when I read it the engagement was photographed on my brain." He added that if a passage in any book struck him, he could recall it and its position on the page, so that, as he had said, it was " photographed on his brain."

The most interesting and important interview I had with him is worth recording, for it happily brought him into better relations with his brethren. After Dr. Hannay's death, the Rev. W. J. Woods was nominated by the Committee as his successor in the Secretariat of the Congregational Union. The name was cordially received in the May Assembly, the hall being crowded. Dr. Parker, however, came forward and raised an objection, and his speech was greeted with some hissing on the part of men who thought the speech ungenerous and unfair. Parker left the meeting in dudgeon, and for several years he ostentatiously kept aloof from the Union, though its annual meetings were still held in the City Temple. With some others I felt strongly that this severance ought not to continue, and urged three of our recognized leaders, in vain, to invite him to return. As our seniors would take no action, I consulted my dear friend, Storer Toms, and he at once consented to call with me on the doctor, if, as he expressed it, I would " bell the cat." We had an interview with Parker in his study. After beating about the bush, for I felt the delicacy of our position, as much younger and less distinguished men, I plainly said : " We have come to speak to you about your withdrawal from the Union," and I gave him our reasons for thinking that it ought to cease, and assured him of a cordial welcome, if he could see his way to return. When I ceased, there was a dead silence, which I feared was ominous. Then he put into my hand a packet of small circulars, on each of which was some such statement as this : " Dr. Parker regrets that he is

unable to accept your invitation, for he has had an unmistakable indication that Congregational Churches are out of sympathy with him." "Do you mean to say," I burst out, "that you have actually sent such replies?" "Certainly," he answered. "Then forgive me for saying that it is *childish*," I replied. He looked at me and I at him for a moment. Then, without another word, he flung the whole bundle into the blazing fire, and said: "That's done with, and when you give your address as Chairman in the City Temple I shall be beside you." The next year, 1898, he was true to his promise, cheering me now and then with his sonorous "Hear, hear," and leading the applause our brethren so generously gave at the close of the address. On that occasion, and on many others, he displayed his native magnanimity and welcomed what some would have resented.

The reconciliation was complete and final. About three years later he had the almost unprecedented honour of being elected Chairman of the Union for a second period, and during the year following his chairmanship he closed his brilliant career at peace with all his brethren, and crowned with universal admiration and affection.

I close by expressing the hope that these reminiscences will do something to make the human side of these distinguished men more evident and attractive, although we must not forget that they had a divine side also, and that the splendid service they rendered to truth, righteousness, and freedom was due not so much to their exceptional abilities as to the Grace of God which was in them.

ALFRED ROWLAND.

NONCONFORMITY IN THE UNIVERSITIES

III. LONDON

THE situation in London is entirely different from that in Oxford and Cambridge. These are ancient, that is modern. In these Nonconformity only for brief periods was tolerated, in that Nonconformity has had no small share of influence. The Nonconformist colleges at Oxford and Cambridge are of recent origin; the training of Nonconformist ministers was going on in several institutions before the University came into existence in London. The Harmondsworth Trust, part of the endowment of New College, dates from the year 1673. The beginnings of Homerton College, which in 1850 was united with Coward College (founded 1738) and Highbury College (founded 1778) to form New College, go back to 1696[1] and 1730.[2] Despite its name, New College may claim to be the oldest educational institution now part of the University of London. Within a few years of the Revolution in 1688, when Nonconformists secured toleration, provision began to be made for the training of the ministry. How earnest were the endeavours of Nonconformists, though excluded from the Universities, to secure an adequate education for their ministers may be read in a most interesting and valuable volume, to which it is a pleasure to call attention—*Dissenting Academies in England*, by Irene Parker, M.A. (Mrs. Parker Crane). The Coward College was for a time at Northampton under the direction of Philip Doddridge (1702–1751). Of his work Mrs. Crane says: "Doddridge was great not only in his own Academy at Northampton, but in his influence in the country generally. In his day to mention Northampton Academy was not merely to speak of the best educational centre in the country, it was also to speak of a new education" (pp. 83, 84). It is to be noted that admission was not confined to those preparing for the ministry, and not even to Nonconformists, as some Churchmen sent their sons, not only because the education was better and cheaper than at the Universities, but because of the more careful moral supervision without any sectarian propaganda. Relics of Isaac Watts (1674–1748), as well as of Doddridge, are preserved at New College. Hackney College celebrated its centenary in 1903. It began as a Village Itinerancy, and was one of the many gracious and blessed results of the Evangelical Revival. With it is associated the name of the Rev. Rowland Hill. Removed from Hackney to Hampstead in 1887, it has since worked in close association with New

[1] The Congregational Fund Board. [2] King's Head Society.

College, which dates in its present building from 1851. The two colleges are now being worked, as far as is practicable, as a single institution. The other Nonconformist colleges in London will be mentioned at a later stage; but it seemed proper to give a fuller account of the origins of the Congregational colleges, as showing how Nonconformity has led the way in education of a University standard in London.

It is surprising that while Scotland has since the seventeenth century had four Universities in close touch with the whole nation, and all with doors wide open for the poor, England till the beginning of the nineteenth century was content with Oxford, Cambridge, and Durham, and University education was for the most part quite out of the reach of the working-classes. London, the capital, had no University till the third decade of that century. In 1825 the poet Campbell wrote to Lord Brougham pleading for a University which might offer the facilities for higher education to "the youth of London," regardless of sectarian differences, and with the advantage of residence at home. In 1828 University College started with faculties of Arts, Law, and Medicine. Owing to the opposition of vested interests, such as the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, seven years elapsed before a charter giving power to confer degrees was secured. The non-sectarian basis of University College gave offence, and in 1831 King's College was opened in order that "instruction in the doctrines and duties of Christianity as taught by the Church of England should be for ever combined with other branches of useful education." The rejection by the House of Lords in 1834 of the Bill for the abolition of the theological tests at the older Universities enforced the claim of the recognition by charter of University College as London University College—a recognition King's College had obtained in 1829. The University of London, as such, was at this time also constituted, but only as an Examining Board, to the examinations of which the students of these two colleges, and of any others which might from time to time be named by the Crown, might be admitted on producing certificates of attendance at a satisfactory course of study. In 1858 about forty institutions, including a number of theological colleges, were so affiliated. In the new charter granted that year the restriction was removed, and any person might be admitted to the examinations, and, on passing, obtain the degrees, except in Medicine or Surgery; London University thus became an Examining Board for the British Empire.

While the possibility of obtaining a degree did raise the standard of general education among students for the ministry, yet, as the subjects which belong distinctively to a theological training were not included, there seems little doubt that energies were diverted from theological to more general studies, so that

the special training for the ministry was less thorough than it might have been. Till the doors of Oxford and Cambridge were opened to Nonconformists, there were at the theological colleges always a number of lay students who shared with the theological students in this more general education. When I came to London, in 1903, there were at least half a dozen former lay students still actively interested in their *Alma Mater*, but the last of them died a year ago. A very large number of principals, professors, preachers, and pastors of distinction in Nonconformity during the last century obtained their academic honours as well as educational equipment in connexion with London University.

Sectarian divisions made the new University very chary of touching the thorny subject of theology. In 1839 a " First Scriptural Examination " was opened to B.A.'s, and this could be followed after a year by the " Further Scriptural Examination." Book prizes were awarded to all who gained a first-class in this examination. In 1847 a theological department to prepare students for Holy Orders was founded at King's College, and the status of "Associate in Theology " was conferred on those who passed through the course satisfactorily. In May 1879 nine Congregational colleges in England and Wales combined to form the *Senatus Academicus*, and by 1901 seventeen colleges were associated with it. Two diplomas were conferred, the Associate's (A.T.S.) and the Fellow's (F.T.S.). These endeavours to set a high standard in theological studies led at last to the inclusion of theology as one of the faculties on the reconstitution of London University in 1900.

This movement was led by Dr. Alfred Cave, the Principal of Hackney College, but death prevented him from seeing the fruits of his labours in this cause. Seven theological colleges in or near London were included as divinity schools of the University in the faculty of theology, and on them fell the task of framing the scheme for the B.D. and D.D. degrees. These colleges were King's College and St. John's Hall, Highbury (Anglican); Hackney, New and Cheshunt (Congregational); Regent's Park (Baptist); and Richmond (Wesleyan). The Board of Education had approved a scheme for the amalgamation of Cheshunt and Hackney Colleges; but as one of the results of the decision of the House of Lords in the case of the United Free Church of Scotland this scheme did not go through, and Cheshunt found another local habitation at Cambridge. If the proposal to remove Regent's Park College, at the termination of its lease, or even before then, to Cambridge is effected, and if the Bill for the amalgamation of Hackney and New Colleges is passed, the number of colleges will be reduced from seven to four.

The B.D. of London, unlike that of other Universities, is a first degree, and need not follow a B.A. or an M.A., but a year's pre-

liminary Arts work after matriculation is included. A number of the students, however, take an Arts degree before taking the B.D. course, and others after a year take the Honours Examination. As one who has had a considerable experience, both practical and academic, I am persuaded that this course does supply, for all who are capable of standing its severe tests, a valuable preparation for the work of the Christian ministry. The *Senatus Academicus* was so satisfied with this provision that it was soon after dissolved, and its diplomas are no longer conferred. Through the influence and under the guidance of the Faculty of Theology the University Extension Board has instituted an examination for a Certificate of Religious Knowledge; this is open to all without matriculation. This examination is being taken by the ex-service students, who are pursuing a shortened course at the theological colleges, in all cases where the requirements of the B.D. examination are too severe. After ten years of careful co-operation, ten of the theological teachers of the University, six of whom were Nonconformists, published a volume of *London Theological Studies*, the contents of which are an indication of the range of studies pursued in the colleges. An introductory note to this volume was written by Professor S. W. Green, M.A., of Regent's Park College, and to this I am indebted for most of the information regarding the history of the University which I have here given.

To this statement of facts may be added some reflections which I trust will be of some interest and value for the readers of the CONGREGATIONAL QUARTERLY:

(1) At Oxford and Cambridge the University dominates the town; in London its existence is known only to the interested and curious. The distances of the colleges from one another makes quite impracticable that common life which is the distinctive attraction and the most potent influence of the older Universities. Attempts have been made to create a corporate spirit among the teachers and taught alike; but these are still more aspiration than achievement. There is an athletic union among the theological colleges; and the unity of Christendom is promoted on the football, cricket, and tennis fields. The students of the colleges sometimes meet in common debates. The Student Christian Movement serves as a bond of unity, the value of which it is a duty as well as a pleasure to recognize. The theological colleges endeavour to make foreign students feel at home by occasional social gatherings. There was such a gathering at New College, at which forty-one students of sixteen nationalities were the guests. While it is good that Nonconformity should be represented at Oxford and Cambridge, and that some of its ministers should enjoy the advantage of such culture as may be their peculiar possession, yet I am convinced, although myself a Mansfield man, and duly grateful and loyal to my *Alma*

Mater, that, despite the disadvantage of the scattering of the colleges over so wide an area in London, it is good for the students to be in touch with the life and work, the dangers and needs of a great city ; for theirs must be in the days to come not a " learned leisure " nor a " cloistered virtue," but a full share of the burden and struggle of the common life in the service of Christ, His Gospel and His Church.

(2) No less am I convinced that it is desirable that the theological colleges for the training of the ministry should be as closely associated as possible with the national Universities. As religion should not be a separate department of life, but a pervasive influence in the whole of life, so the Church must not isolate itself from the nation in its manifold interests and activities. Theology is closely related to history, science, and philosophy, and cannot be pursued without regard to them. The student of theology is in danger of a narrow specialism unless he shares in the wider culture of a University. As his influence in his calling will depend on his ability to hold frank unprofessional intercourse with his fellow-men, it is good for him to be thrown into contact with men preparing for other professions. The seminarist is likely to be narrow not only in his theology, but also in his sympathies with men. The high standard of scholarship required by a University raises the level of work of even the students who are not preparing for a degree. It would be folly to force all students for the ministry through a degree course, as some who will be competent preachers and pastors are incapable of meeting its requirements ; but even they are influenced by the kind of work their fellow-students are doing. As the teachers of the theological colleges constitute the Faculty of Theology, and form three-fourths of the Board of Studies, the curriculum can be so shaped as to meet University requirements, and yet provide the kind of training needed for the Christian ministry. In view of the attitude to theology taken by many scholars and thinkers, it is very desirable that it should have a place among the other faculties of as many of the Universities as is practicable ; and that Nonconformists should accept their share of responsibility for having the subject worthily represented by teachers eminent enough to command respect as scholars and thinkers. It is too narrow and low a view to think of the theological colleges only as seminaries for denominational purposes. Congregationalism at least should desire to make its own worthy contribution to secure an honoured place for theology in the Universities.

(3) In common association with the Universities, the theological colleges of different denominations can co-operate. Regent's Park College now shares fully in the joint classes of Hackney and New Colleges. The Dean of King's College attended a special course of lectures which I was giving while he was a student in the

theological faculty there. The relations of Churchmen and Nonconformists in the Faculty and the Board of Theology have been most cordial. Never has there been a division on sectarian lines; and the theological section of the University has the reputation of being the most harmonious of all the sections. Questions of reunion have never been discussed; but it is by such cordial cooperation that closer relations among the Churches can best be prepared for. Nonconformists have no complaint of any injustice to make against the University of London, and may congratulate themselves on the share they have had, and still have, in making the University worthy of the capital of the British Empire.

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

THE INNER SANCTUARY

STAY! Who art thou that dost so graciously
Invade the untroubled sanctuary of thought?
I heard no sound of lifted latch,
No voice I heard, no footfall caught my ear;
Nothing I saw, yet someone came to me
As quiet as the early light of morn.

I know Thee who Thou art:
For, though to sense Thy presence is not known,
Thou makest every apprehended thing
More real, and I, dust of the very dust,
Lift up my head among the crowning stars.

A. LANDON.

DEVELOPMENTS AND EXPERIMENTS

This section of our Journal aims at chronicling not only developments in theological thought and in ecclesiastical organization, but also practical experiments in all branches of religious life and service.

Often when successful attempts have been made to solve some problem in one part of the country, the rest of the Churches remain ignorant, and we trust that these pages will not only serve as a clearing-house of ideas and a record of changing emphasis, but also broadcast valuable information of progress in Church and denominational life.

Our representatives in the Colonies and the United States will from time to time contribute accounts of similar movements. The Editor will be glad to consider brief articles serving this purpose.

LIGHT FROM NANCY

No one would suspect, from what is seen in our Churches to-day, that the commission of Jesus to His followers included the power to heal the sick. The Churches, almost without an exception, leave the ministry of bodily healing to the medical profession, and as a consequence many miss healing who might have had it if the Christian Church had continued to function as a healing agent. Whatever may be claimed for even the most wonderful of the drugs in the medical pharmacopœia, it cannot be denied that the Church has among her treasures a more powerful therapeutic agent, viz. faith.

The apostles believed that all the children of the kingdom had a right to the initial blessing of bodily health. Yet in many communities this blessing was not realized, as e.g. in the Church at Corinth. Gradually these gifts of healing declined in the Church for the sufficient reason that the Churches were unworthy of them. Through unbelief, and through that alone, the gift of health was mislaid. "Although in dusty archives the Church has preserved theoretic belief in her power to heal the sick, she never practically admits that it is her duty to heal them."

The readers of Baudouin's *Suggestion and Auto-suggestion*, and perhaps still more the readers of the less technical brochure by Harry Brooks, entitled, *The Practice of Auto-suggestion by the Method of Émile Coué*, must have felt that the work of the eminent French psychologist, who, by the way, is not a doctor, as so many writers seem to imagine, deserves the serious notice of ministers and teachers of all denominations. Inquiry will lead to the discovery that M. Coué does not sail under Christian colours, and some will perhaps conclude that they can therefore afford to neglect his work and treat Auto-suggestion in the scornful way that many ministers treated

Christian Science. Such a conclusion would be very unfortunate. Coué's discoveries are of the greatest possible importance, and it will be a grave misfortune if they are not made use of by Christian teachers. It is a pity that his method can be so very easily ridiculed and misrepresented, and that the false impressions are so often the ones that become current.

It has been my privilege to pay a prolonged visit to Nancy and to study on the spot the results obtained by the method of Auto-suggestion. In trying to make others see what I have seen I find a real difficulty in the fact that those who have not been to the clinic at Nancy find it almost impossible to believe that such wonderful things can happen.

Eighteen months ago M. Émile Coué was almost unknown outside Lorraine, but thanks to an article which appeared in one of the leading Paris newspapers in July 1921, his fame has now gone throughout the world. Since that article appeared eminent European physicians, psychologists from many universities and colleges, non-professional men and women, a few Christian ministers, and a small number of Roman Catholic priests, have visited the Nancy clinic on missions of inquiry. Through the agency of these eye-witnesses the fame of the clinic grows apace, and Coué's ideas are gaining ground. In Britain, some Harley Street specialists are beginning to practise the method, and there is a small clinic at work in London under the direction of a pupil of Coué. But, unless much more is done, the vast majority of our people will not reap the benefit of Coué's discoveries. No one will be more disappointed at this than M. Coué himself, whose life and fortune are being spent in helping all sorts and conditions of men.

It seems to me that the people who can most effectively make use of the ideas of Coué are Christian ministers. If they took up the work of healing as a part of their ministerial activity, they would have the advantage M. Coué enjoys in healing without monetary reward. In conversation M. Coué told me that he attributes much of his amazing success to the fact that he is in a position to do all that he does gratuitously. "This," said he, "gives the people confidence." From the very first he has steadfastly refused to make any charge whatsoever to his patients, and the history of the Nancy clinic has abundantly justified the policy.

As to the atmosphere of the Coué clinic, the words of a psychologist spoken in my hearing during one of the séances may be quoted: "What impresses one is the healthiness of the atmosphere." After a much longer experience of Coué's work I feel that the psychologist was right, and that his term "healthiness" puts very happily the impression that the clinic makes upon the serious-minded visitor. M. Coué, in addition to his abounding faith in the power of Auto-suggestion, is an optimist who brims to overflowing with practical

commonsense and quiet humour. He takes good care that the atmosphere is kept healthy. Morbid, extravagant and foolish ideas are simply laughed out of court.

The English-speaking patients who came to Nancy during my visit were from England, Scotland, Ireland, the United States, Scandinavia, South Africa, and even Brazil. Their ailments were very varied, including meningitis, arthritis, rheumatism, asthma, writer's cramp, stammering, neuritis in many forms, curious obsessions, etc. They were all those with whom the doctors and specialists at home and abroad had failed. One—my wife—had consulted nearly thirty physicians and surgeons in various parts of the world, another twenty-three, and so on. All had come to Nancy as a last resort, and, in general, one may say of them that they were not people to whom faith in a new method came very easily. In the séances intended for them it was evident that there was a critical spirit abroad, and M. Coué must have felt this, for he never seemed to be quite himself during these special sittings for foreign patients. Yet, in spite of their critical attitude, in a good percentage of cases there was a marked improvement evident to all of us, and in some a cure so complete and rapid that the term miracle is not inapt as a description of what happened.

The percentage of cures among the local French patients was very much larger. The majority of them belonged to the peasant and working-classes, and, being for the most part unsophisticated folk, they were like children in the readiness with which they accepted M. Coué's suggestions. To them faith in the method, or perhaps it was rather faith in Coué, came more readily than to the foreign patients. Coué was always at his very best when he was dealing with them. They had faith, great faith, and according to their faith they were healed. At practically all the séances intended for the Nancy people testimony was given of cures, many of them dating a long time back. In their shining, happy faces as they came back to say, " Thank you, M. Coué, for all that you have done for me," there was convincing evidence of the reality and the permanence of their cures. Their belief in Coué and in his methods is evidenced by the way in which they have advertised the clinic and brought their friends for treatment. Very often as many as two hundred patients pass through the clinic in a single day. At these séances one usually saw practically instantaneous cures, many of them so striking that in the olden days they would have been called miracles. Baudouin and Brooks give many very striking examples of the Nancy cures, but it may be helpful to record two of the many that I myself have seen.

During a séance intended for foreigners and people from a distance, a picturesque group of very good-looking gipsies hailing from Amiens, consisting of father, mother and daughter, came in a little late

and sat by the door. They were almost indescribably dirty. Near them were some wealthy South Africans dressed in " purple and fine linen." Many a man would have felt the contrast between the two groups, and his manner would have betrayed his feeling, but not so M. Coué. His is a heart that knows no class distinctions, and to him, as to Burns, " The man's the gowd, for a' that." This is why the common people love him and have faith in his work. The old gipsy was about seventy years of age, strikingly handsome in appearance, but with a bearing that suggested pain and depression. He explained that he had been a martyr to asthma for fourteen years, and that it had affected his heart so greatly that to mount stairs was an almost impossible feat. In addition he had been troubled by constant headache for the past two years. M. Coué tried with him—as he does with all new patients—a little experiment by which he proves his theory that the imagination is stronger than the will. Seeing that the old man responded readily to the experiment, M. Coué assured him that when he had learned to use the method of Auto-suggestion he would be entirely cured, asthma being a complaint that yields very readily to suggestion. He explained to the patient how he could free himself from pain. The séance continued on the lines that are familiar, and the gipsy left, firmly believing that he would have no more asthma. This happened on a Tuesday. On the following Friday the trio came to the public séance. The old fellow's depression had completely disappeared, and he looked the picture of happiness. He had come to report that he was already quite cured, but that before he returned home he wished to thank M. Coué for all he had done for him. Coué asked him to walk up and down the staircase, and then took him out into the garden and made him run round and round. The old man chuckled and laughed as he followed the directions. His handsome face beamed. Later on, when the majority of the patients had gone, we were vastly amused to see him start up every now and then and take another run round the garden in surprised delight at having the full use of his limbs and lungs. His wife told us in excited tones that after the first séance he became a new man. The asthma, the headache, and the other symptoms had disappeared completely.

On another occasion an aged peasant woman was present at a séance. How she got upstairs I did not see, for when we arrived she was already in the upper room. With the aid of a stick and a crutch the best she could do, as she demonstrated to M. Coué, was to hobble painfully across the room. To walk was impossible because of the awful pain in her left foot. M. Coué first of all relieved her of the dreadful pain by the usual method of gentle rubbing, to the accompaniment of an oft-repeated " Its going." In about thirty seconds it had gone. He then encouraged her to walk round the room without the help of stick or crutch. Coué held

her hands at first and quietly assured her that it was really quite easy for her to do what had hitherto seemed so impossible. At the close of the séance this woman crossed the room and went down the very awkward staircase without crutch or stick. She had forgotten all about them ! A neighbour followed her, calling, as she held out the stick and the crutch, " Madam, you've forgotten these ! "

I am aware that incidents like these read like inventions rather than facts, but I can vouch for both of them. I give them as examples of things I have seen, and anyone who has been in the clinic can recount similar cures.

To me, it was of very special interest to find that, though M. Coué is always appealing to his patients for faith, he never says a word in public about religion. He bids people have faith in the method and in themselves. One cannot, however, be long in the clinic without discovering that for most patients this is not enough. Men and women are so constituted that they feel the need of someone better and wiser than themselves as the object of faith. In place of the old faith in Jesus, which was the ground of faith-healing in the early Church, many of the patients of Coué have faith in Coué. This faith in himself Coué does his best to discourage and discount by saying, " No ! no ! Don't put your trust in me. I'm not a healer. I've never healed anybody. I am only a teacher. My mission is to teach people to cure themselves." From my point of view it is a weakness in the Coué system that it does not provide a satisfying object for faith, and it is just here that Christianity can complete and strengthen it. In private I tackled M. Coué on this matter, and, somewhat to my surprise, he at once admitted the justice of the criticism. He himself is a religious man, but he holds that, in order to help as many people as possible, whether religious or not, it is best for him to refrain from any reference to religion. He readily agreed that if religious faith were added to faith in Auto-suggestion it would increase the healing power. " Religious faith," he said, " would act as another stick." This is a point of vital interest to Christians in general, and to ministers in particular. It fills a gap in the Coué system. It is good to know that Coué himself is convinced of the value of religious faith in the work of healing. If by the use of such a method as that of Coué, modified and adapted to our special needs, we ministers could add the healing of men's bodies to the healing of their souls, the multitudes who are now outside the Churches would begin to see new meaning in the Kingdom of God, and realize that the Christian Gospel is indeed " Good News." I am quite convinced that in Christianity we have what is needful for the perfecting of the Coué system, provided only that we have a faith that is great enough to claim and use it.

Coué builds up his system on the Biblical idea, "Resist not evil, but overcome evil with good." The attack upon evil is indirect, since Coué trusts imagination rather than will. He encourages men, as far as possible, to ignore the evil, and to fill the mind with good and sound ideas. He says, in effect, "Believe that you are beginning to have what you desire, and you will have it." This also is Biblical, for we read in the old Book, "All things, whatsoever ye shall ask in prayer, believing, ye shall receive."

M. Coué explained to me that in his experience with adults he has discovered that collective work in the clinic is very much more effective than any individual work; hence clinics with collective sittings are necessary for the successful practice of his method. In this connexion some sentences from an article by the author of *Pro Christo et Ecclesia*, entitled, "Salvation of the Body by Faith" (*Hibbert Journal*, April, 1906) are pertinent: "If health is the heritage of Christendom, it is waiting to be realized by a corporate faith. If there is a Divine abhorrence of disease and all forms of ill-health, all such sufferings that Christians bear are due, not to necessity or to God, but to lack of faith in the Church at large. Many of the noblest children of the kingdom are to-day reasonably convinced that the procession of the Spirit of God manwards involves health, and yet cannot appropriate the health because of the faithlessness of the many. Here, then, is now the first necessity of the higher life—the individual and corporate faith which brings the significant and sacred experience of increased bodily power—a power that will make all spiritual verities more real."

In work among children this does not apply with equal force. It is Coué's experience that children can best be dealt with individually by their parents, but that parents require training if they are rightly to use the method.

I can never be too grateful to M. Coué for all that I have learned in the clinic at Nancy, and for the amazing results of his method in the case of a loved one to whom he has given new hope and a new lease of life. In the clinic one feels that one really begins to understand the Gospel story. The spirit of the man is Christian, and the wonderful works he has been enabled to do are surprisingly like the miracles of the Gospels and Acts. Is it too much to expect that in years to come a Faith clinic, with public séances for healing and classes for the education of parents, will be a recognized department of Christian activity in many of our Churches, and that many ministers—and others with special gifts—will accept and rejoice in the full commission of the Master and take a share in healing the bodies as well as the souls of men?

J. W. Inglis.

ART EXHIBITIONS[1]

The article in the April CONGREGATIONAL QUARTERLY on "Every Church its Own Art Exhibition," though really dealing with a different subject, suggests the question whether our Churches, particularly those in industrial areas, might not do more than they do at present to witness to their belief in the great need for art and beauty in the life of the people.

It is possible that this belief is not always quite as strong as it might be. Our Puritan heritage has doubtless been largely responsible for obscuring the truth that man's spiritual nature is threefold, demanding equally goodness, truth, and *beauty*. We have concentrated far too much on the two first, leaving the third to fall into the hands of the world, the flesh and—the architect of the average mid-Victorian dissenting chapel.

It might, however, be worth considering whether some rooms in our church premises could not be set apart for a few weeks in the spring or summer, when meetings and clubs are largely over, for some kind of art exhibition that might, without heavy cost, prove of immense value and stimulus to the people of the neighbourhood.

The writer has had some experience in the organization of two little art exhibitions in a manufacturing town where there is no art gallery of any description. These efforts were not in connexion with any Church, but were run by a representative committee of art enthusiasts; but there was nothing in them that might not be adapted to a church schoolroom or even a set of class-rooms.

The first exhibition was arranged round the central idea of *cheapness*, its aim being to show that beautiful things were not necessarily costly. This was before the war, so we were able to show a lot of delightful German colour prints by modern artists and a series of excellently reproduced monochrome prints after the old masters. These, alas! were also German, and cost only threepence each. I believe that British firms have now taken some steps to emulate the cheap foreign prints that were obtainable before the war. We had also an exhibit of the beautiful Medici colour-prints after the old masters.

Glass cases were borrowed from the local museum and were filled with collections of the gay "peasant pottery," hand-wrought copper-work from Keswick, and a few examples of good old metal-work and china lent by local friends. There were also a few small casts of classical and Renaissance sculpture.

In a gallery which ran round the hall was a collection of good decorative posters; also an exhibit of garments and hangings ornamented with simple decorative stitchery, lent by the Glasgow School

[1] The writer will gladly help Churches desiring more detailed information.—ED.

of Art, which aroused much interest among the women visitors. Finally, there was a recess arranged as a "cottage parlour," which was an attempt to show how a small room could be furnished with simple, well-designed furniture, and brightened by gay and pleasant colour and a few cheap reproductions of good pictures (from the *Hundred Best Pictures*), for very small cost.

All the exhibits had good explanatory labels, but the usefulness of the whole exhibition was enormously enhanced by the help of a body of voluntary stewards, who went round with different groups of visitors and explained things to them, often getting interesting questions and hearing ingenuous and entertaining criticisms.

I believe that it is often for want of such simple human interpretation that great masses of the community are repelled rather than attracted by art collections. It is difficult to imagine a much greater privilege than that of interpreting some well-loved work of art to an undeveloped intelligence, and seeing a look of interest and then of wonder dawn in eyes that had never been taught to *see* before. Surely this is eminently Christian work, which should appeal to the more educated members of our Churches.

Our second exhibition came at the close of the war, when the difficulties of transport limited us to what could be obtained in the neighbourhood, and it was surprising what an interesting little collection was got together. The local sketching and photographic clubs helped us here. We had also old china and metal-work, and an exhibit of pottery and embroidery from a neighbouring school. This last aroused so much interest that out of it grew some courses of handicraft classes, which were a boon in our inartistic town.

There is no doubt that small exhibitions such as these are much appreciated if rightly worked. There are many ways in which the idea might be developed by a single Church. Its members might arrange, for example, a collection of religious pictures, or a collection of pictures lent by members of the congregation (and suitably edited). It is an excellent thing to show good examples of handwork in the various crafts, and, with the great awakening of interest in the crafts that has taken place in recent years, it should not be difficult to get together a collection of objects, simply and serviceably made, but good in design and colour, in pottery, leather-work, woodwork and needlework that would prove stimulating to many a home worker, and incidentally have a salutary influence on the stalls at the next bazaar!

Such an exhibition would prove its educational value if it should stimulate a desire for teaching in drawing or painting or handicrafts among the people, and if such teaching could be provided, further exhibitions of the products of the classes would follow as a matter of course. Perhaps from these might grow a desire among the people to beautify their churches and schools with the work of their own

hands, so that the day may not after all be so very far off when we shall be delivered from the terrors of varnished pitch-pine, "cathedral" glass, and stencilled organ pipes. Then even the children of the Puritans will understand that truly to worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness logically implies a stern fight against all forms of ugliness, a great crusade in which it is a privilege to share.

CLARICE M. WILSON.

CONGREGATIONALISM IN AUSTRALIA

Readers of the CONGREGATIONAL QUARTERLY need not to be told of the great part that Congregationalism has played in the religious life of England and the United States. In these lands it is counted as one of the important and influential denominations. In these circumstances it seems not a little strange that *in every one of the British Dominions Congregationalism is lamentably weak—almost to the point of insignificance.* I shall naturally confine my discussion to Australia, but I believe that what is true of Australian Congregationalism is equally or more true of New Zealand, Canada, and South Africa.

No amount of optimism can disguise the fact that Australian Congregationalism is in a stagnant condition as regards numbers. The total number of Congregationalists in the Commonwealth is just over 74,000; this includes all the people who set themselves down as "Congregationalists" in the census of 1921. In the decennial period preceding the census our numerical increase was a beggarly 467, while the population at large shows an increase of practically a million. Relatively to the population, we show a *decrease* of nearly 7 per cent. The Church of England shows an increase of 46 per cent. on its previous returns, which is 25 per cent. more than the "natural" increase to be expected. Of people in Australia returning themselves as "Christians" 45 per cent. are Anglicans, 22 per cent. Roman Catholics, 12 per cent. Methodists, 12 per cent. Presbyterians, and only about 1½ per cent. are Congregationalists. Whereas in England we have approximately one minister to every 12,000 of the population, in Australia we have only one minister to every 22,000, and, of course, the population is much more scattered, so the comparison is really much worse than it looks. I don't overrate statistics, but in this case they speak for themselves. Our actual influence is probably out of proportion to our numbers, nevertheless it is obvious that, unless some great change takes place, Congregationalism will count for little more in the life of Australia than the Christadelphians or the Latter Day Saints in the life of England.

There is no need to labour further the depressing facts of the situation; they are admitted by all, and even exaggerated by many. But it does seem strange that Congregationalism makes practically no progress in a land like this. We have never had an Established Church. The Church of England enjoys a certain amount of social prestige, but that is all. I have never heard of any unfair treatment of non-Anglicans, such as one used to hear of in certain English rural districts. Perfect freedom in all religious matters is in Australia a realized fact. Australia has no feudal or aristocratic traditions: these communities are democratic to the core. I believe that a large number of Australians are in revolt against the all too prevalent theological obscurantism, from which, however, Congregationalism is largely free. In these circumstances one might expect that Congregationalism would flourish. Moreover, we have had in the past many able and eloquent ministers in all the great metropolitan centres, and not a few earnest and self-sacrificing pioneer pastors in the rural areas—a state of affairs which still largely holds good. Why, then, is Congregationalism stagnant or declining?

In trying to explain our relative failure one inevitably passes to controversial ground, and the personal equation is apt to interfere with one's judgment. But I think that few will deny that one root cause of our weakness is the fact that Congregationalism—in Australia as elsewhere—has too often been construed in terms of *isolated Independency*. English and American Congregationalism has succeeded more or less in grafting certain features—normally regarded as "connexional"—on to the original Independent stock. Very little has been done in this direction in Australia, though it seems to me that the need for it is apparent. The various State Unions have done their best, but they are inadequately financed and supported. In some cases it is plausibly alleged that their leaders have been lacking in prescience and enterprise. Obviously a well-organized connexional denomination has an enormous advantage in providing for the religious needs of a land like this, with its vast areas, scattered populations, and imperfect communications. Such a denomination can plan and carry through great schemes of Church extension; it can make systematic provision for ministerial training, sustentation, removals and settlements, etc., etc. But Congregationalism has missed the mark in all these respects. Important and growing districts have been left without any Congregational Church at all; the strength of Congregationalism has been concentrated in the cities, while the country work has often been of a most spasmodic and haphazard character. Many causes have been started and then shut down or handed over to other denominations. Ministerial training has been inadequate. Until recently Queensland had no college at all, and even now there is no college in Western

Australia. Victoria has a college, but no college building, while the endowment is miserably insufficient for the work needing to be done. Things are better in New South Wales and South Australia. All the States are now insisting on a higher standard for men seeking ordination; men must pass what is equivalent to a County Union Examination in England. But in the past all sorts of illiterate men have been ordained, including some who had been rejected by other denominations. This has undoubtedly tended to lower our prestige, and it will take a long time to recover lost ground. A good proportion of our ministers, particularly in the cities, are quite up to the English standard of knowledge and ability, but the proportion of untrained or half-trained men is generally much greater than even in the weakest County Unions at home.

Ministerial sustentation deserves a paragraph to itself. Here we compare very unfavourably with the Anglicans, the Presbyterians, and the Methodists. At the present time I know of several most worthy men who receive as little as £170 and a manse—married men and fully ordained. In this country the salary mentioned is about the same as that legally payable to the lowest class of unskilled labour. It is true that ministers in the position described receive occasional fees and doles from one source or another, but even with such alleviations the situation is one of grinding poverty. The natural result is that many men are in a state of chronic unrest: pastorates are even shorter and changes even more frequent than at home, with disastrous reactions alike on the ministers and on the Churches. I recall the case of a student, an ex-soldier who had served with distinction, a graduate in Arts, and in every way a worthy candidate for the ministry, who was offered a salary of £150 on leaving college after six years of training! In such circumstances it is scarcely surprising that young men of parts are not very eager to enter the colleges; the wonder is that there are any volunteers at all. Not a few of our Churches need to be trained in the matter of Christian giving; it is a sad fact that poor stipends are often due less to the poverty than to the meanness of the congregations concerned. *Unless and until we can secure a reasonable standard of ministerial sustentation, Australian Congregationalism will suffer a grave handicap,* and deserves so to suffer.

"Removals and Settlements" constitute another problem. From time to time committees are created to deal with it, but so far it remains unsolved. English Congregationalism may have found a solution through the "Moderators," but it would be difficult to adapt this scheme to Australian conditions, and the Australian Churches are even more suspicious of any kind of centralized supervision than are the English Churches.

All these difficulties lead us to one root cause of our weakness.

Compared with Anglicans, Presbyterians, or Methodists, we are *deficient in denominational spirit.* This is true of English Congregationalism, but it is even truer of Australian. Neither the principles nor the history of Congregationalism are understood by the great majority of nominal Congregationalists. An extraordinarily large proportion of our ministers and Church members are drawn from other denominations, particularly from Methodism; in Australia people float from one denomination to another in a remarkable way. In townships where there is only one non-episcopal Church a large mixture of denominations is inevitable; this applies to other denominations besides our own. (Some time ago I preached in a Baptist church where very few of the members and scarcely any of the office-bearers were Baptists: most of them seemed to be Congregationalists.) Since there are large areas and many good-sized townships without any Congregational Church at all, we lose heavily in this way: the weaker denominations suffer far more from this "gipsy" business than the stronger ones. Again and again Congregationalists make good-natured concessions in the interests of Christian unity, but I cannot say that this attitude is always reciprocated, though it sometimes is. Anyhow, the general result is that many nominal Congregationalists know little, and care less, about Congregationalism as such, while not a few genuine Congregationalists are compelled, willy-nilly, to associate themselves with Churches of another order.

The circumstances out here are such that it is only natural that discussions on Church Union are more pointed and practical than is the case at home. A scheme is afoot to unite the Presbyterian, Methodist, and Congregational Churches: it has been a subject of endless controversy. Whether it will come to anything is doubtful; about a third of the Presbyterians seem opposed to it, and I believe a fair number of the Congregational Churches—at any rate in South Australia—are equally hostile. The scheme proposed involves a fairly elaborate connexionalism, accompanied by provisions for safeguarding the rights of the local congregations. Whether these provisions are adequate or illusory is a debatable point. The scheme also involves a "Basis of Doctrine," comprising twenty-one articles covering the whole field of theology and admittedly conservative in language and spirit. To this Basis all candidates for the ministry will be required "in substance" to assent, and a committee is to be set up in every State to examine candidates as to their faith and doctrine. Whether the words "in substance" leave sufficient room for reasonable freedom of thought, and whether these committees are altogether to be trusted in this connexion, are also matters of acute difference of opinion. One curious feature of the situation is that the Presbyterian opposition is largely drawn from the most conservative section of that

denomination, while the Congregational opposition, apart from a few sturdy " Independents " of the old type, is mainly composed of what out here are regarded as advanced thinkers. The situation is complicated by the fact that, theologically, Australia is about half a century behind the times. I noticed that Dr. Selbie's Hull address was criticized on the ground that those he addressed were nearly all already converted to the modern view of the Bible. This is certainly not the case out here. Evolution and the Higher Criticism are still bugbears to many ; one is continually meeting with the crudest views of the Atonement ; Pre-millennialists and Fundamentalists are noisy in the land. Congregationalism is probably the most progressive in thought of all the denominations, though it is only fair to say that the modern point of view is splendidly upheld by many Presbyterians and Methodists. Whether, in a scheme of Church Union such as is proposed, Congregationalism would leaven the other denominations or be swamped by them is another question which I deliberately leave open. It is at least devoutly to be hoped that the Union Scheme may soon be either definitely adopted or definitely shelved ; the present state of uncertainty is unquestionably prejudicial to the interests of our work. I believe the same has been found true in Canada. Folk can hardly be expected to toil and sacrifice for the maintenance and strengthening of our distinctive witness if there is a likelihood that at an early date this witness will be merged in a larger unity.

I fear this article may seem unduly pessimistic in tone, but at least I have tried to state the situation fairly. In the three years I have spent here I have visited every State but Queensland, and discussed matters with plenty of people who ought to know how things stand and how they are tending. I am convinced that in many of our Churches—both in metropolitan areas and in the country—a splendid work is being done. We include among our ministers and laymen men of rare consecration and ability ; it seems almost impertinent to praise them. But whether the witness of Congregationalism can be sustained in Australia through the continued existence and fresh expansion of the denomination *as such* is another issue. Many competent observers return an unhesitating negative : I will content myself with a *non liquet.*

EDWARD S. KIEK.

CHURCH FINANCE

An amazing feature of ecclesiastical life is our slowness in learning from other denominations and other countries. American Christianity has much to learn from us, but in the sphere of Church administra-

tion, as in that of religious education, we on this side are a generation behind. When the British observer sees the efficiency and ease with which Churches of all denominations in the States manage their finances he rubs his eyes, and—accustomed to casual British methods, with reiterated appeals from the pulpit, socials, bazaars, and even card parties, to make ends meet—thinks of an enchanter's wand. The American system is now being adopted by all progressive Churches in this country, and the sooner it is in general use the better. Inadequate stipends, missionary societies with recurring deficits, the raising of money by deplorable and questionable means—all these will be known no more when congregations adopt the plan of regular and systematic giving.

What the plan is, and how it can be brought into operation, may be seen in *Efficient Church Finance*,[1] an excellent piece of propaganda, which not only expounds the system and answers objections, but also gives samples of envelopes to be used, explanatory literature, and results achieved. Several Congregational Churches which have recently adopted the method report almost incredible increases in income; 274 Churches of the United Free Church of Scotland raised their income from £178,469 in 1917 to £281,768 in 1921.

At present a man, with an income of say £300 a year, goes to church—perhaps—twice each Sunday, and—also perhaps—puts 6d. in the plate each time. If there is a collection for an outside society, he does exactly the same, and so the society gets 1s.—but at the expense of the Church, not of the giver. He contributes 5s. annually to a missionary society, and possibly the same amount to other societies in which he (or his minister) happens to be interested. He thinks that on the whole he is "pretty generous," but really his gifts do not total 1s. 6d. a week, less than the cost of his daily lunch.

Now imagine he starts in a new way, by setting aside a proportion of his income for charities: let us say one-fifteenth, and not the scriptural tenth. That gives him £20 a year. Each week he takes to church an envelope with two sections.[2] Into one, marked "For ourselves," he pays for what he gets—for the maintenance of worship—and in this he can place 2s. every time (twice a Sunday) he attends church; into the other, marked "For Others" or "Benevolences"—the receipts from which are divided among Home and Foreign Missions, charities, etc., in stated proportions—he can place an equal amount. If it is more convenient, he can still put his 6d. in the plate, and send the balance to the treasurer each month or quarter; the

[1] Compiled by A. B. Keay for the International Business Men's Committee (Garrood, 4 Fleet Lane, 5s.). A little book (*Fabric and Finance*, by W. A. E. Austin, S.P.C.K., 2s. 6d. and 1s. 6d.) shows that the Church of England is alive to this solution of the financial problem.

[2] Some Churches prefer a single envelope as being simpler, the allocation to charities being made by the officials.

essential thing is that he must give regularly and systematically. If he desires to base his gifts on the Church's needs instead of upon his own income, he makes his promise after examination of the budget prepared by the Church officials.

In this way humiliating appeals by the minister are avoided, special collections (generally at the expense of the Church) are eliminated, the labour of hordes of collectors saved, and a secret and satisfactory system established. So little thought has been given by Church officials and by individual Christians—for it is just because people have never calculated the amount of their gifts that it has been so small—to the business administration of Church life, that it may safely be asserted that the system would largely increase every Church's income, and at the same time would stimulate interest in religious work and give an idea of Christian stewardship, which is at present almost entirely lacking.

EDITOR.

FOREIGN IMPRESSIONS AND REVIEWS

Germany: Yesterday and To-day.

Many and varied have been the reports in the press during the last two or three years about the interior condition of Germany. These have often been contradictory, and it has been extraordinarily difficult to form a true impression. Since the French occupation of the Ruhr it has not been easy to secure the necessary *visa* to enter the country, as the German Consuls abroad have received instructions not to allow foreigners to travel there unless they have definite or important business. The railways are congested and the train service is irregular. The constant fluctuations in the value of the mark make prices, particularly in the hotels, uncertain.

With a view to obtaining contact with German publishing houses and German scholars, I obtained the necessary permission, and was able to call on many of them. Everywhere I was received with courtesy and consideration. I called on my old bookseller in Leipzig, Herr Bernhard Liebisch, of 6 Kurprinzstrasse, who was most obliging and introduced me to several publishing houses in the city. He would gladly open accounts with any of the readers of this Journal, and would give them every attention and consideration, especially in the way of a fair price. He is an accomplished English scholar, so that all correspondence with him may be in English if necessary. The publishing business is everywhere very depressed owing to the high cost of production. As I have noticed in the review of Professor Strack's works, manuscripts of important works by eminent scholars in all departments of learning are lying in libraries unpublished. It has even been suggested in some quarters that it might be possible to get some of these translated and published in England. This, of course, has its difficulties, as the cost of printing and publishing here is also very high, and it is not a simple matter to translate from a German manuscript. However, we hope that something may be done in this direction in the future. German scholars also have a great difficulty in obtaining foreign books and reports. Some of us are trying to facilitate this, and we hope thus to be able to render them a little service in the difficult time through which they are passing.

Naturally, the impressions one has formed of the condition of the people will depend, in a very large measure, on the classes with whom one had intercourse. But perhaps I may be allowed to say a word or two about the outward appearance of familiar things. I had been a constant visitor for longer and shorter periods during the twenty years ending with September 1914, and therefore had had many opportunities of forming a clear idea of German institutions and German social life. The power and the penetration of the Government acting through its officials was the outstanding fact that met one at every turn and corner of life. An extraordinary docility, an almost cringing respect or fear for authority had become, through long years of discipline, an element in the very psychology of the people. The amazing thing is how completely it appears to have vanished. The abolition of compulsory military service has, of course, hastened this. The magic word " verboten " has lost its terrors ; German boys and girls now run across squares and gardens with impunity ; flowers, and indeed anything removable, in public places have disappeared. Consequently, the old smartness has gone. The streets and squares and parks look desolate and neglected. The ubiquitous and omnipotent policeman with his sword

and helmet by day and his pistol by night no longer dominates the streets. He is substituted by a rather juvenile civil guard, and it is not necessary to raise one's hat when one addresses him. The serious thing is that one finds it difficult to discover the methods by which the good elements in the old discipline are being preserved. Respect for law, good order and government, which was an outstanding characteristic of the old Germany, is a vital element in civilized society. This respect has been greatly weakened and undermined, and in consequence one is fearful for the stability of the present government and order of society, threatened from the right by monarchist reaction and from the left by communist revolution. To one who knew the strength of the Hohenzollern tradition and the firm place it held in German history and German ambition it is astonishing to find how this has vanished, leaving behind little trace of either interest or affection. With the exception of the late Empress, no member of the Imperial family is spoken of with respect, at least by the middle and student class. In these circles, at any rate, there is no desire for the return of any of them. A gentleman in my company put his finger on the imperial crown over the black eagle of Prussia and said: "Not for fifty years, and then only after a successful war with France"—ominous words which startled me and made me reply: "Is the world to be for ever disturbed and desolated by this old quarrel?" A serious question for politicians in every land—and not only for politicians, but for the peoples who have to suffer and to pay the price.

The old government class, the old military class, the old *rentier* class have disappeared. Some ducal and princely palaces are now inhabited by peasant families, whose washing may be seen hanging out of the windows. I met people whose total income from invested funds would not purchase a pound of butter. The suffering in these circles is intense and mostly silent, and it is impossible not to feel a measure of sympathy. The only manifestation of heat or anger in my presence was during a conversation with an old gentleman of over eighty whose income, nearly £10,000 in 1913, is now about £150, and who had lost all his sons in action. He "went for" England and America. But he had suffered much and must be forgiven much.

A good deal has been written about the hardships of the professional and the student classes, and there has been little exaggeration. Doctors, lawyers, ministers of religion and schoolmasters are having a very hard time indeed. There is no organization, as in the case of the working-class, to adjust salaries to the continual upward movement of prices. Want is everywhere prevalent. One was struck with the number of men with eruptions and boils upon their faces and necks, due evidently to under-nourishment; the children looked pale and sickly. Here I would say a word of admiration for the noble work of the Friends in Germany. They are carrying out their principles positively and humanely, and are everywhere spoken of with admiration and gratitude.

Strangely enough, the Universities are crowded. I visited four—Zürich, Innsbruck, Leipzig and Berlin. Zürich is, of course, in Switzerland, and the contrast between the conditions there and in Austria and Germany was most striking. I cannot see how the German student in his present conditions will be able to carry on for a series of years with the intensity he has to put into his work. Speaking only of those I met—a limited number necessarily—the midday meal, consisting of a basin of pea soup with a few beans in it, would hardly keep a cat alive. I fervently hope that the condition of those I saw is not the general condition. If it is, the prospect for them is indeed dark. The work of the Friends' Com-

mittee in assisting in the organization for the provision of meals and in the students' club in Berlin—where one met Russians, French, Hungarians, Germans, and British conferring together in friendliness—is divine work, and should appeal to all who have Christian hearts. My experience in every country has shown me that those who have suffered most are, with few exceptions, those who are ready to forgive most. An English lady who had lost both her sons was among the first to subscribe £5 towards the provision of books for German students. It is when one hears of acts like this that one knows that the Christian spirit and the Christian faith, whatever one may call them, are still a force in the world.

I cannot but feel that the German mind and character have changed fundamentally. They are forming round a new centre. What that is it is difficult to say as yet. One can but hope that from this centre a new Germany may emerge which will contribute something of positive value to the well-being of humanity.

Les Livres du Nouveau Testament. By ALFRED LOISY. Paris: Émile Nourry. 1922. 30 Fr.

Last February the centenary of the birth of Renan was celebrated in Paris with becoming solemnity and contagious enthusiasm. The French press reflected and expressed the national pride in a great scholar and an incomparable artist in language. The issue of *Les Nouvelles Littéraires* for February 24th was entirely devoted to Renan, and among many interesting and eulogistic articles was an interview with M. Alfred Loisy, a former pupil of Renan's, later a Roman Catholic priest and leader in the Modernist movement in France, and now (after his excommunication) Professor of the History of Religions in the Collège de France. The interview is valuable as giving an account of Renan's influence over Loisy's intellectual development. It also supplies details about his activities and opinions subsequent to his leaving the Roman Catholic Church. He tells us that priests often attended Renan's lectures, but they always sat near the door, so that they might easily escape if the professor said anything that upset their ideas. Once a dignitary of the Church was present when Renan suggested that perhaps Jeremiah had had something to do with the composition of Deuteronomy. The great man stalked out, slamming the door like an angry child. Even Loisy felt that hearing Renan was a risky business, so he consulted his confessor, who wisely suggested that taking a course at the Collège de France was *un devoir d'etat.* His chief concern at this stage, according to his own confession, was to hoist Renan with his own petard. "My ambition was, one day, to be able to defeat Renan with his own weapon, i.e. by the critical method I had learned from him." That day has not dawned yet, and it was never more distant than when he published *Les Livres du Nouveau Testament,* in which the methods of Renan are applied with a ruthlessness that deprives the New Testament of almost all historical value. Only a thin nucleus of historic fact remains, upon which later generations have reared an amazing structure of fraud, fiction, and legend.

The valuable part of this work is, in our judgment, the beautiful translation of the whole New Testament and of the Gospel and Apocalypse of Peter. Each book is preceded by a summary of contents and critical notes. The order of the books is not the traditional one but is as far as possible chronological. M. Loisy finds it difficult to carry this out, because even those books whose authenticity is sufficiently guaranteed can only be approximately dated. After the Epistles, beginning with Galatians and ending with the Epistle of St. James, is a group containing the Synoptic

Gospels and the Acts, and then come the Johannine writings, beginning with the Apocalypse. A short appendix contains the so-called Gospel and Apocalypse of Peter. It is interesting to compare M. Loisy's translation with existing French translations. We have had three of these before us: (1) Henri Lassarre's translation of the Gospels, which is dominated by the Catholic tradition. This bore the imprimatur of the Archbishop of Paris, and, at first, received the Papal approval; but the power behind the Pope appears to have been too strong even for the Pope, and it was suddenly and mysteriously suppressed and withdrawn from circulation. The influence of Catholic dogma can easily be detected, especially in those passages that refer to the brothers of our Lord. Lassarre always translates brothers by *cousins* or *relations*, in support of the doctrine of the perpetual virginity of the Virgin Mary. (2) and (3) The two Protestant versions. The first, the translation used by our Bible Society, is the work of Segong, who was primarily an Old Testament scholar. The second, the *Revision Synodale*, was issued by the Société Biblique de France. Both these translations betray Protestant influence. For example, in deference to Protestant feeling the term priest is never translated by the natural word *prêtre*, but by the cumbrous and awkward word *sacrificateur*. The High Priest becomes *le souverain Sacrificateur*.

One of the chief merits of M. Loisy's translation is that it is almost entirely free from bias in either of these two directions. We use the word "almost" advisedly. It is curious to find that he very rarely translates the word *ekklesia* by the word *église*, but, with few exceptions, by the word *communauté*. The only passages in which the word *église* occurs are: (*a*) the famous one: "On this rock I will build my church"; (*b*) Col. 1^{21}, "Now I rejoice in my sufferings for your sake, and fill up on my part that which is lacking of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh for my body's sake which is the church"; (*c*) Eph. 3^{21}, "unto Him be the glory in the church and in Jesus Christ unto all generations for ever and ever"; (*d*) Eph. 5^{23ff}, where Christ is referred to as the Head of the Church. Throughout the Acts and the Apocalypse, and everywhere else in the epistles, the Greek word *ekklesia* is always rendered by the French word *communauté*. Now, it is quite clear that there is system in this. M. Loisy is nothing if he is not precise; but we think that he is precisely wrong in this discrimination. As a matter of fact, he will never allow the word "church" to the local body of Christians. There is no such discrimination in the New Testament, where the same Greek word occurs in all cases. Why does he make the distinction? It is hard not to see in this the influence of the Catholic theory of the Church. We of the Free Churches claim that the local Church is a true Church in the New Testament sense. We have fortunately escaped from the Catholic tradition. Though M. Loisy has freed himself from a large part of that tradition, in this particular matter he is not as free as we might wish. With this exception, the translation is remarkable for its freedom from traditional or dogmatic bias, and both in its vocabulary and in its idiom it is a monument of the purest French style. Everywhere there are evidences of exact and delicate scholarship. One example must suffice. The other French versions (like the English) translate Acts 1^{20}: "Let his habitation (*sa demeure*) be made desolate." Loisy brings out the meaning of the Greek ἔπαυλις by translating *sa metairie*, a rendering confirmed by reference to Dr. Souter's Pocket Lexicon to the Greek New Testament.

When we come to consider the rhythmical form that Loisy gives to so large a part of the New Testament, and especially to the sayings and speeches, we begin to tread on debatable ground. In the interview with

M. Lefevre, the editor of *Les Nouvelles Littéraires*, to which we referred at the beginning of this review, M. Loisy endeavours to justify this by saying that the phraseology of the New Testament betrays the influence of the parallelism which is such a marked feature of the prophetic books of the Old Testament, and especially of the Psalms. Further, the New Testament books were composed with a view to reading in public—to be proclaimed or even chanted, and hence they have a character *oraculaire et liturgique*. By giving so much of the New Testament a rhythmical form, Loisy thinks that the thought becomes clearer, and we are more able to appreciate the mental and spiritual *milieu* from which the writings issued. This at once raises the question: "From what circles did the New Testament issue?" Loisy's conclusions on this point are almost always sceptical and negative. With the exception of the chief epistles of St. Paul, there is not a document of the New Testament of which the authorship is not doubtful and the date uncertain. There is the slenderest historical foundation for the Christian faith. The books are mainly compilations of a late date having an apologetic and dogmatic motive. The Gospels and the Acts (p. 256) are far from being original works, a direct witness of the activities of Jesus and of those men who, preaching Jesus Christ, became the founders of the Church. The earliest Gospel (Mark), like the latest (John), is *une légende merveilleuse*. Sayings, parables, and miracles have been compiled for the edification of communities. It is extremely doubtful whether we have any original saying of Christ. The narrative in the Acts contains fragments of a work, "infinitely superior to the ill-formed legends in which they are now swamped" (p. 501). The aim of the Redactor was to explain the relation of Christianity to Judaism, but he has no plan, and tries to make up for this defect by a series of fictions that give the appearance of a chain of facts. From the number of these fictions which he has introduced into his narrative we can well understand M. Loisy's view, that in his treatment of his historical source the Redactor has been guilty of *un abominable sabotage*. M. Loisy in his analysis of the Gospels and the Acts betrays a hardness, a lack of sympathy, a disposition to find fault with everybody and everything, that rather wearies one, and makes one less inclined to respect his judgments even when they are acute. The books are dissected out like rabbits; nerves, tissues, filaments are laid bare and placed side by side. Something of infinite worth is lost in this process. Criticism, in order to be more effective, must be less suspicious and more generous. Are we doing M. Loisy an injustice when we say that there is almost an element of contempt in his criticism? We could understand this if later ecclesiastical traditions were under review, but it is difficult to understand it when we are reading the beautiful words of his translation.

We cannot help asking, how did the men obtain an impression of such a person as Jesus Christ; what gave the original impulse or motive that led to the foundation of the Christian Church; what force inspired those mighty changes that transformed the world? That these things rest upon facts rather than upon fictions makes less demand upon our credulity. It is over twenty years ago since M. Loisy published *L'Évangile et l'Église* and *Autour d'un petit livre*. In those two books he tried to reconcile fidelity to historical criticism and fidelity to the Church on matters of doctrine and discipline. His method of reconciliation was curious, for he raised such a barrier between history and faith that collision or conflict became impossible. They were to be kept out of each other's way. Now, after all these years, we have these methods applied; these principles have, so to speak, worked themselves out. The separation of history and faith

has destroyed both, at least as far as Christianity is concerned. M. Loisy admitted to M. Lefevre in the interview: " Je ne crois pas plus a l'avenir eternel du bouddhisme qu'a celui du christianisme," and it does appear to us that if the historical foundations of Christianity are overturned, the faith that rests upon them becomes involved in their destruction.

Das Evangelium nach Matthäus erläutert aus Talmud und Midrasch. By HERMANN L. STRACK und PAUL BILLERBECK. Munich: C. H. Beck. 1922. 15s.

Einleitung in Talmud und Midrasch. By HERMANN L. STRACK. Munich: C. H. Beck. Fifth Edition. 1921. 4s.

Four days before the publication of the former of these two works Professor Strack died. In the short period of three months the Theological Faculty of the University of Berlin lost three of its best known and most distinguished Professors—Friedrich Delitzsch, Ernst Troeltsch, and Hermann Strack—an incalculable loss not only to Berlin but to the whole world. We desire to express our deep sympathy for the University, thus deprived of three of its greatest teachers. The prefaces of these two works mention another fact that is not without pathos. Neither of them could have been published without help from other lands. We rejoice to note that Professor Strack's British friends have contributed towards the cost of production. It is a welcome sign that an admiration for the man and a common interest in the Biblical studies to which he devoted all his strength have brought together, in some measure, those who had been separated by the war. We would add here the tragic fact that manuscripts of important works by world-famous scholars are lying unpublished in the University Library in Berlin owing to the prohibitive cost of production—an appealing circumstance to all scholarly and generous minds. Professor Strack was seventy-four years old on the 6th of May, 1922, and he tells us that he had never known an " eight-hour day." We can well understand this when we read the works that lie before us. Some of us can recall the slight, bent figure, the haggard face, the penetrating eyes, the modest demeanour of the man who brought to the interpretation of the Scriptures a learning vast and rare, and yet so well ordered that it was instantly available for the elucidation of any difficult passage. With the exception of Gustaf Dalman, there is hardly another Christian scholar who had such a mastery of Rabbinical literature. We should certainly add the name of the Rev. R. Travers Herford, the learned Librarian of Dr. Williams' Library, whose *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash* implies a wide first-hand knowledge of Rabbinical texts. Mr. Herford is one of the few men in England capable of giving a just estimate of Professor Strack's work, and we have been interested in hearing him say that it was a monument of accurate scholarship. Here a confession must be made in all humility: we have found it impossible to read the whole of the Commentary on St. Matthew —it runs into over a thousand pages in small type, with innumerable quotations in Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek. We hope that this confession will not make this notice entirely worthless, and that it will not deter some of our ministerial readers from placing the book on their shelves. It is a great work of reference, and may be consulted with advantage whenever we are trying to penetrate into the mind of Scribe and Pharisee and to understand the mentality of the educated Jew in the time of our Lord. The *Einleitung*, or *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash*, is also an Introduction to the Commentary, which is the first volume of a series, and will include three other volumes on the New Testament. This *Introduction*

is constantly referred to in the Commentary (the pagination below is that of the fifth edition, which is much larger and completer than the earlier editions). It is a valuable supplement to Mr. Herford's work already mentioned, the object of which was "not to give a Bibliography of Rabbinical literature, but to indicate the general scope and method of that literature" (p. 25). Professor Strack supplies the Bibliography. He gives a critical account of all the Tractates of the Mishna and the two Talmuds (Jerusalem and Babylonian), some of which he has edited. He also adds a very interesting and valuable record of the long line of Jewish Rabbis with a short statement of their contributions to Jewish learning. These are continually quoted in the Commentary, together with their respective dates and relation to one another. It is always possible to turn up a particular Rabbi and learn something personal about him. This adds greatly to the interest and the value of the Commentary. Then there is an illuminating account of the principles and the methods of Jewish exegesis, always backed up by quotations from original sources that are critically estimated. Finally, he summarizes Rabbinical opinion on such matters as faith, worship, superstition, ethics, philosophy, science, law, history, geography, etc., and indicates the sources, ancient and modern, from which a wider knowledge may be acquired. The indexes are very full and accurate, so that if a student wants to follow up a special point he is quickly put in the way of it. The *Introduction*, like the Commentary, is hardly a book to read through, but it is a most important book to possess. Very little in the ancient and modern Jewish world has escaped the notice of Professor Strack. Prejudice never blinds and hearsay never misleads him. He has not only a keen sense for fact, but also a profound insight into the meaning of fact.

When we turn to the Commentary we are amazed at the learning that it implies, and can quite understand that Professor Strack felt the need of a colleague. Pastor Paul Billerbeck of Frankfort-on-the-Oder joined him in June 1906; for sixteen years they worked together in this great enterprise, and we learn that the materials for the other volumes of the Commentary have been collected.

In the strict sense, as the authors admit, this is not an interpretation of the New Testament, but an effort to gain the material from Rabbinical literature for such an interpretation. It is an attempt to describe from the critical study of original sources the faith, the mental outlook, and the life of the Jews in the time of Jesus and of primitive Christianity. The study of the Old Testament is necessary for the understanding of the New. The Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical literature is valuable, but, in the authors' view, not sufficient. They would complete the work commenced by John Lightfoot (*ob.* 1699), and make available the rich sources of later Jewish literature. Every incident in the gospel, every saying of our Lord's, every custom and institution of the Jews, every rite and article of belief, every aspect of Jewish life and thought is exhaustively treated, and the relevant passages from Rabbinical literature quoted, so that now we might say, for the first time, the mentality of the Jew in the time of Christ has been reconstructed on strictly scientific lines. The authors show great caution and skill in the use of their vast material. For example, they are never caught by that dangerous tendency exhibited by Loisy of supposing that when an incident is mentioned as fulfilling an ancient prophecy it is manufactured in order to fulfil the prophecy. As an illustration of this we would refer to the treatment of the journey to Egypt, which Loisy suggests was built up on Hosea 11[1]. The Commentary gives the evidence for a Jewish tradition of contact between a Jewish Rabbi and Jesus in

Egypt, and, though the story is clearly unhistorical, it points to the fact that a tradition was in circulation to the effect that Jesus was in Egypt. The idea that gospel incidents were manufactured so as to make them fulfil ancient prophecy meets with little encouragement in this Commentary.

The whole treatment of the Sermon on the Mount deserves special study. It is very exhaustive and runs into nearly 300 pages. A large number of quotations are made from Rabbinical literature, but these, as often as not, manifest the independence and the originality of Jesus. For example, the authors say: "It is a vain effort to seek for parallels for the fourth Beatitude in Rabbinical literature" (p. 201). The summary of the relation of the Sermon on the Mount to Rabbinical teaching is most illuminating and helpful. The fact that there are numerous parallels does not justify the idea that there is borrowing on either side. A sound rule is laid down, that a saying handed down with a particular author's name must be proved to belong to the author whose name it bears (p. 471). If this rule is strictly applied it will be found in nearly every case that the author in question flourished after the time of Jesus. From this it follows that the sayings of Jesus cannot depend on the sayings of the Rabbis. "In the old Synagogue there was a strong spiritual influence, which no one could escape . . . an influence or a power which Jesus felt no less than the men of the learned schools. This power is the Law, the religious-moral thought-world of the Old Testament. In this world Jesus breathed and lived right up to His last words on the Cross. In this world Rabbinical scholars of all generations were perfectly at home." Originality, however, laid on the side of Jesus. He gave to what He received a new meaning, a new extension, a new application. Above all, "the new thing that Christianity has brought into the world was not a definite body of ethical truths and doctrines, but Jesus Himself, His Person and His Work" (p. 474). Nowhere are our authors more suggestive than when they attempt to reconstruct the Aramaic original of the words of Jesus. This has often been attempted and not always with success. Their exact knowledge of Aramaic idiom gives us confidence in their judgment. As an example of this we would refer our readers to their discussion of the famous passage: "Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my Church." After giving the probable Aramaic original, they translate: "I say unto you, yes to you Peter, on this rock (on my Messiahship and on my Divine Sonship) I will build my Church" (p. 732). Limits of space prevent us from further illustrations, and we must bring this all too inadequate notice to an end.

Before doing so an important question must be raised. How far is it legitimate to use writings that received their present form in later Christian centuries to interpret the much earlier Christian writings? Professor Burkitt, in his *The Gospel History and its Transmission*, says: "We may ask ourselves how far is the Rabbinical religion the immediate descendant of the main current of Judaism of the first century A.D." (p. 171). He thinks that most of the leading features of the older Judaism perished in the two great Jewish rebellions in the times of Vespasian (A.D. 70), and of Hadrian (A.D. 135). If this conclusion is correct, it requires great care and a fine historical and critical sense to reconstruct the mentality of the Jews of our Lord's day from a literature which, in its present form, is so much later than His day. Whether our authors are always successful in this requires a more competent judgment than we possess.

W. Blackshaw.

CURRENT LITERATURE

" Read not to contradict and confute, nor to believe and take for granted, nor to find talk and discourse, but to weigh and consider."—FRANCIS BACON.

" A good book is the precious life-blood of a master spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life."—JOHN MILTON.

(*The place of publication is London, and the date* 1923, *unless otherwise stated.*)

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

Constantinople, Canterbury, and Rome. By F. WOODLOCK, S.J. Longmans. 3s. 6d. and 2s. 6d.

Liberal Evangelicalism. AN INTERPRETATION. By Members of the Church of England. Hodder. 6s.

Anglican Essays. THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION AS CATHOLIC AND REFORMED. Macmillan. 12s. 6d.

The Lambeth Joint Report on Church Unity. A DISCUSSION. Hodder. 3s. 6d.

Conversion, Catholicism, and the English Church. By WALTER CAREY, D.D. Mowbray. 2s.

A recent leader in *The Times* began : " What is Anglicanism ? " Nearly a hundred years ago Macaulay suggested that it was " a hundred sects battling within one Church," that " the Religion of the Church of England " was " in fact a jumble of religious systems without number." A writer in one of these books suggests that the " divisive forces which came into the Church with the Tractarian movement " have " just begun to ebb." We must confess that we see no sign of cessation of internecine strife in the Church of England to-day, whether we read its periodicals, listen to its discussions, on reunion or Prayer Book revision, or study books like these. We regret it, because until we can gather what Anglicanism is, questions of union are necessarily in abeyance.

Father Woodlock has no doubt at all what Anglicanism is not, and Anglo-Catholics must find it extraordinarily irritating to read his reply to Bishop Gore's Advent addresses on " Catholicism and Roman Catholicism." They are told with the utmost frankness that their Church is no Church, their bishops no bishops, and their sacraments no sacraments. There is no compromise at all. *Roma locuta est. Causa finita est.* The acceptance of Anglican Orders by the Eastern Church makes no difference. Great play is made with Bishop Gore's definition of himself as " always a free-thinker in the best sense of the word," and also with the pronouncements of the Modern Churchmen.

It is a relief to turn to *Liberal Evangelicalism,* a very able interpretation of their position by some of the Evangelicals in the Church of England itself. The essays naturally vary in merit, and the book suffers from trying to cover too much ground, but the chapters at the beginning and the end of the book especially are full of suggestion, and the whole volume is written in a fine spirit.

The plan of the book is as follows : An opening essay on " The Development of Evangelicalism " is balanced by Canon Barnes's concluding

estimate of the future. The Editor (Canon Rogers) writes one of the best statements of the problem of religious authority we have read—though it would have been well to discuss the relation of Church and State more thoroughly. Dean Burroughs is as stimulating as usual in "Evangelicalism and Personality." Chapters on "The Bible," "The Person and the Work of Christ," "The Church, The Sacraments, and the Ministry," "The Kingdom of God," are followed by the Bishop of Truro's "Worship," the Bishop of Hereford's "Reunion," the Rev. E. S. Woods' "The Rule of Life" and "The Presentation of the Gospel at Home," and Canon Davies's "The Presentation of the Gospel Abroad."

Throughout the book there is evident keen thinking and earnest devotion, as well as willingness to accept modern scientific and Biblical teaching, and to see things in proper perspective.

> "All else in Christian worship and dogma is subsidiary to this [the turning of men to Christ]. Much of it is important, but compared with the central nucleus of our faith . . . it hardly matters."

The weaknesses of Evangelicalism in the past are admitted, including narrowness in theological ideas, and "an unintelligent veneration of the Bible such as Luther would never have countenanced," and it is emphasized that now "it is of the very essence of Evangelicalism that freedom is desired within broad limits, and that rigidity is more dangerous than variation."

This belief is apparent in every part of the volume, and the attitude to the Scriptures, the Creeds, the Articles, and the Prayer Book is inspired by it. The Editor says:

> "We take our stand upon the immediate relationship of the Holy Spirit to the Church, and the increasing knowledge of the mind of Christ which we believe the historical method is revealing to us."

The Bishop of Truro, in a paper which pleads for fellowship in worship, asks that the Church, while not ignoring the experience of the Christian centuries, should follow the "ever-present and ever-continuous guidance" of the Spirit, and think out its methods of worship afresh, and the same atmosphere pervades the Bishop of Hereford's manly and outspoken essay on "Reunion," and Canon Davies's admirable missionary paper, with its appeal for liberty both for the missionary in thought and method and for the native Church in government. Altogether this is one of the most encouraging books we have read for a long time, and full of promise for the future.

Anglican Essays, which also comes from the Evangelical wing of the Church of England, approaches the problem in a different way. It is anti-Roman rather than "Liberal" or "Evangelical," and it stresses "Reformed" rather than "Catholic." The positive and constructive note of the book just noted is often missing, though it appears in the Rev. C. E. Raven's searching essay on "The New Reformation." The contrast of tone between the books can be seen even in Archbishop Lowther Clarke's summary of the results of the Lambeth Appeal, where, dealing with the article on the Virgin Birth, he says: "These words cannot be altered."

This comparison is not meant to imply that there is not much that is valuable in *Anglican Essays*. Dr. R. H. Murray is as interesting as ever in an informing article on "The English Reformation," and Dr. Coulton enjoys himself tremendously in laying about him—he always uses a bludgeon and not a rapier—in "Rome as Unreformed," where once again he puts unanswerable questions to Romanist apologists. No one can drive home

better than Dr. Coulton Newman's sad statement: "Unless one doctored all the facts, one would be thought a bad Catholic."

The Editor (the Archdeacon of Chester) laments the fact that teaching of the differences between the Church of England and the Church of Rome as enjoined in the 66th Canon has ceased in the Anglican Church, though the Romanists carry on an active propaganda. The volume for which he is responsible is an effective counterblast.

The City of London branch of the Church of England Men's Society, desirous of promoting reunion, invited the Archbishop of York, Dr. Selbie, and Dr. Scott Lidgett to Wood Street to speak on *The Lambeth Joint Report on Church Unity*. These lectures are now printed with an Introduction by Canon J. G. Simpson, an address on the Presbyterian position by Dr. Carnegie Simpson, and a reply by Dr. Headlam. If union is ever to be realized it is necessary that "the rank and file" should be able to follow the discussions of their representatives, and to that end this is a most useful little volume.

Those who read *Prayer and Its Difficulties* and *The Kingdom that must be built* know how cogently and suggestively Dr. Carey can write. From his Colonial bishopric he sends forth this new book, inspired by the Anglo-Catholic attempt to convert England. Long at a loss as to the basis of the Church, he has now thought things through, and recognizes non-essentials as being such. He has come to insist on Bible reading and preaching, and he sums up the real religion of the Anglican Church in the pregnant phrase "Scriptural Catholicity," by which he considers the twin—and vital—principles of liberty and authority are safeguarded. "Catholicity is autocratic and unrestrained without Scripture. Scripture without Catholicity is individualistic." Developing "an ethic of converted Catholicism" on these lines, he defines a Christian as one who is becoming like God, and he believes that the Church to which he belongs has the power to make such men.

EDITOR.

CHURCH HISTORY

Five Centuries of Religion. By G. G. COULTON, M.A., Litt.D. Vol. I. St. Bernard, his Predecessors and Successors, A.D. 1000–1200. Cambridge University Press. 30s.

The Prelude to the Reformation. By R. S. ARROWSMITH, M.A. S.P.C.K. 8s.

Puritanism in the Scottish Church. By W. S. PROVAND, M.A. Paisley: Alex. Gardner. 6s.

A Short History of Quakerism. By ELIZABETH BRAITHWAITE EMMOTT. Swarthmore Press. 10s. 6d.

Author and publishers alike are to be complimented on Vol. I of *Five Centuries of Religion*, the fruit of many years' strenuous labour. A full list of authorities, excellent illustrations, appendixes packed with information (some of them distinct contributions to learning, like that on "Mediæval Puritanism," in which the "Merrie England" fallacy is exposed) and a useful index, all increase the book's value. We are not disposed to join those who blame the Cambridge Press for the high prices of their volumes so long as they issue works like this, but we would respectfully suggest that pages might be cut!

Vol. I deals with St. Bernard, with monasticism in general, and the Benedictines, Cistercians, and Cluniacs in particular. After tracing the rise of monasticism, Dr. Coulton outlines the current conceptions of God and of life (that which now is and that which is to come), and proceeds

to give us an excellent idea of the life, as of the thought, of the monks. His fine sketch of St. Bernard is not so one-sided as many, and aspects of his work that have often been overlooked are brought out. Dr. Coulton writes with unequalled knowledge of both British and foreign sources of this period, and his work must rank as authoritative. Sometimes the confidence of a generalization startles one, as for example:

> "There never has been an age or a country in which the majority of the population have both understood the Mass and believed actively in it."

In this, as in other instances, however, ample evidence is always forthcoming. A perusal of the volume has left us impatient for its successors, and we are glad to know that they will not be long delayed.

We cordially congratulate Mr. Arrowsmith on his delightful volume in the S.P.C.K.'s "Studies in Church History" series. A busy parish priest can have little time for historical research, but from episcopal registers and visitations Mr. Arrowsmith has culled a great deal of valuable information about the English Church from the age of Wycliffe to the breach with Rome. The mediæval bishops, cathedral, collegiate and parish clergy are described, and the wider aspects of Church life dealt with. We trust the welcome this book receives will encourage the author to continue his researches and give the public the benefit of them.

Mr. Provand's six Hastie Lectures deal with a period of Scottish Church History about which not too much is known, and they throw some rays of light across the darkness. They are written in a clear and lucid style, and the vigorous and dogmatic way in which judgments are expressed adds to the attraction of the book. Often generalizations are so emphatically stated as to cause a smile, and it is well that the bias of the writer is obvious. Mr. Provand likes superlatives and strong statements, but some of them would be hard to prove, e.g.:

> "The Puritans . . . in the brief day of their power . . . ruthlessly extruded from the Church all who did not accept their views."

Ruthlessly? All? There are misprints on page 70 and page 161.

The labours of Dr. Rufus Jones and Mr. W. C. Braithwaite have made the history of Quakerism familiar to serious students, but a brief history for other readers has been lacking. Mrs. Emmott now supplies the need, and her volume will be welcomed by those who, not having the time for seven large volumes, have been inclined for further study by reading Mr. A. Neave Brayshaw's useful *The Quakers; Their Story and Message.* Mrs. Emmott confesses that her book is based on her brother's writings, and it contains little that is new. It stops at 1690, and some will wish that the story had been continued longer, even at the expense of some of the pages dealing with the precursors of Quakerism. On the other hand, we wish some Friend would set to work seriously to investigate the witness of the Anabaptists in England in Elizabeth's reign, and to see whether there is any connexion between them and the emergence of the Friends two generations later.

Perhaps these notices offer the best opportunity for stating that we are glad that our reference to the Rev. Alexander Gordon in our last issue elicited the information that Mr. Gordon had been offered, and had declined, doctorates from more than one University, including Manchester. We mention this to give the fact the wider publicity it deserves, both for Mr. Gordon's sake and for the University's.

EDITOR.

THE QUEST OF CHRIST

The Mystical Quest of Christ. By R. F. Horton, M.A., D.D. Allen and Unwin. 10s. 6d.

The Gleam. By Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E. John Murray. 12s.

Life Changers. By Harold Begbie. Mills and Boon. 5s.

A Gentleman in Prison. The Story of Tokichi Ishii. Student Christian Movement. 4s. 6d.

A scholar's simplicity is always attractive, and Dr. Horton has given us a book that will be read with thankfulness by all classes of readers. In a measure the result of a study circle, it nevertheless has all Dr. Horton's intensity of purpose and lucidity of style; characteristically ingenuous passages of self-revelation are interwoven with quotations from second-century Fathers and twentieth-century missionaries, mediæval saints and Puritan leaders. The title scarcely indicates the contents of the book. Dr. Horton finds the rule for Christian living in the simple precept: "Be Christlike." He shows how Christ can be imitated in serving others in one's calling—be that calling business, the professions, the ministry, amusement, art, or illness (here T. T. Lynch and R.L.S. are quoted as examples). Rules for conduct are then set out in a Christian decalogue, which is expounded at length. Chapters on methods for attaining the Christlike life follow—meditation, auto-suggestion, habituation, association, mysticism, and "the evangelic virtues." The book is an urgent and earnest plea for the living of the Christlike life.

The Gleam is the story of an Oriental's quest for the Christ Ideal. It derives some of its fascination from the fact that it is told by Sir Francis Younghusband, who during long years of residence and travel has imbibed some of the charm of the East, and thought deeply on spiritual themes. His own *obiter dicta* add to the interest and value of the book, e.g.:

> "What was wanted in the Great War to steady the nerves was not tobacco but religion. And before the next war comes we must find a religion so vital, so strong, that it will keep men firm and steady in the face of the most terrific shocks."

In this book Sir Francis gives an account of the spiritual pilgrimage of one he calls Nija Svabhava, the son of a Punjab landowner, and a Government servant for thirty years. Keenly interested in travel, Svabhava became more absorbed in the journeys of the soul. He was an omnivorous reader—Wordsworth, Tennyson, Carlyle, Kidd, Renan and Tolstoy are mentioned on one page—and studied most of our modern philosophers, including Ward, Alexander, and Pringle-Pattison. He could not accept the Divinity of Christ, as he felt this would diminish the Master's power as an example, but alike in Mohamedan, Hindu, and Christian he found earnest searchers after true religion. The one thing impossible for him was to rest satisfied; from the gleam he must press on to the vision—"study, work, read, speak, think, write, but keep unwavering on." An unusual and impressive book.

Mr. Harold Begbie's *Life Changers* relates how, under the influence of F. B., many University men in England and America have come to the end of the quest and found Christ. F. B.—whose desire to work secretly Mr. Begbie has disregarded—is an American, who after his ordination received his real "call" in a little Cumberland Church in 1908. Mr. Begbie's chapters show how he has been a real "soul surgeon," and won

"Greats" men, Rugger blues, and so forth, to Christian happiness and service. F. B. is a mystic, who hears direct commands from God and spends an hour early each morning in silent listening. He insists on "the power of sin to wall out any vital consciousness with God," and believes that "there is no work of Mine to do for him who is not wholly Mine." In these remarkable stories—one of which contains a striking tribute to Dr. Selbie—Mr. Begbie has found a congenial theme; he ends by relating it to immortality on the lines of Professor J. Y. Simpson's recent book.

Another successful quest is related in the poignant life story of Tokichi Ishii, a Japanese murderer who became a Christian while awaiting his execution in prison. The account of his life which he wrote in his last days is translated by Miss Macdonald, one of the two lady missionaries who visited him in prison, and there is a Foreword by Dr. John Kelman, who is also responsible for the title. Ishii, having lived a life of crime and spent many years in gaol, confessed to a murder to save a man falsely accused, and one day, carelessly perusing a New Testament left by the missionaries, "was stabbed to the heart, as if pierced by a five-inch nail," by reading, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." The gospel has still its ancient power to change lives, and if men pursue the quest and seek, they surely find.

EDITOR.

The Sieve of Blindness. By SYDNEY WALTON. Garrood. 5s.

Companionable Books. By HENRY VAN DYKE. Hodder. 7s. 6d.

Women Writers of the Nineteenth Century By MARJORY A. BALD, M.A., Ph.D. Cambridge University Press. 10s. 6d.

Men of Letters. By DIXON SCOTT. Hodder. 7s. 6d.

Some Modern Authors. By S. P. B. MAIS. Grant Richards. 7s. 6d.

Mr. Walton's essays afford a fitting introduction to these volumes of literary criticism. Most of them have appeared in a weekly religious journal, and some are slight and topical, but the majority are marked by suggestive thought and apt expression, and are worthy of a more permanent form. Mr. Walton, who refused a knighthood offered for public service during the war, is a type of layman the Primitive Methodist denomination is deservedly proud of producing. He is a lover of nature and of books, of his Church and of his home, and of all these he writes with enthusiasm. The theme of the first essay suggests Mr. Walton's method. If blindness were to be our lot, what books should we desire to take with us into the darkness? Should we not be wise to pass all books through "the sieve of blindness," asking, "If only a few books could go with me, should this be one?" Such books Dr. Van Dyke calls *Companionable Books*, under which title he has just published a volume of charming essays, which has frequently reminded us of our distinguished contributor, Mr. Augustine Birrell. Dr. Van Dyke's judgments—Thackeray, "the greatest of English novelists"; Emerson, "a Puritan *plus* poetry"; Stevenson, "an adventurer in a velvet jacket"—are always interesting, his style always crystal clear, and his asides always diverting. He illustrates continually his own dictum: "Five words that go home are better than a thousand that wander about the subject." The English publishers might have reproduced the American cover design; the key to it remains in the volume to excite our curiosity.

"George Eliot was a woman who wrote full-grown novels for men." After reading Dr. Van Dyke's racy sketch, introduced by these words,

it was perhaps rather unfair to Dr. Bald to turn immediately to her critique of the novelist. Although we found it well worth reading—it is perhaps the best part of her book—it inevitably seemed prosaic and pedestrian. Miss Bald deals with the Brontes, Mrs. Gaskell, Jane Austen, Mrs. Browning, and Christina Rossetti, and obviously has her favourites. She is much less than just to Mrs. Browning, and Mrs. Gaskell receives too much space (sixty-one pages to George Eliot's forty-six, Mrs. Browning's twenty-three, and Jane Austen's twenty-seven). At times, especially perhaps in the Gaskell section, Miss Bald's work has the mechanical, if painstaking, thoroughness of a University thesis, but the volume is a real contribution to the study of nineteenth-century English literature. We should like to congratulate the Cambridge University Press on the binding of this book—possibly the departure from the customary sombre hues is due to the influence of spring!

A reprint of Dixon Scott's *Men and Letters* worthily introduces *A Bookman's Library*. Scott—whose death in Gallipoli robbed the world of letters of one of its most promising critics—after writing for *The Liverpool Courier* and *The Manchester Guardian*, was contributing regularly to *The Bookman* when the war broke out. His essays do not exhibit the easy urbanity and mature judgment of Dr. Van Dyke's, but they reveal one who had a discerning eye, a facile pen, and a peculiar gift of subtle analysis. His examination of the debt of Morris to Rossetti—or of Granville Barker to Shaw—shows his powers well, while the first essay—on "The Innocence of George Bernard Shaw"—is a very fine piece of work.

Mr. S. P. B. Mais has it in him to render great service to students of English literature. He is, however, writing far too much, and his obsession with matters of sex is deplorable. Sometimes his self-confidence and gusto are as invigorating as a walk on Beachy Head, and if he will only keep in the open-air and realize that the world does not entirely consist of scented boudoirs and unpleasant people, he will show himself the fine critic it is in his power to be. *Some Modern Authors* has forty-two essays dealing with novelists, dramatists, essayists, poets, autobiographers, and critics.

EDITOR.

Alexander Duff, Pioneer of Christian Education. By WILLIAM PATON, Student Christian Movement. 5s.

Allnutt of Delhi. By CECIL H. MARTIN. S.P.C.K. 1922. 3s. 6d.

A Galilee Doctor. By W. P. LIVINGSTONE. Hodder. 6s.

G. A. Selwyn, Bishop of New Zealand. By LOUISE CREIGHTON. Longmans. 5s.

A Yellow Napoleon. By ARTHUR E. SOUTHON. Hodder. 7s. 6d.

Here are four competent missionary biographies and a missionary novel. The first two make a suggestive commentary on Mr. Basil Mathews' article in our last issue. From Carey on, India has received the devotion of some of the finest Christian characters, and it is well that we should possess these readable and informing memoirs of two of them. Duff worked in India from 1830 to 1864, and for India until his death in 1878; Allnutt arrived in Delhi in 1879, and died there in 1917. It is interesting to trace the change in missionary apologetic and method in the period covered by their lives. Duff made the Church of Scotland a missionary Church, and his earnestness and sacrifice far outweighed the narrowness of his views and the prolixity of his speech. Allnutt, who knew every Christian in Delhi, was well described by

a native: "He is a grand old tree, and very many of us find shelter in his shade."

The fact that Mr. Livingstone's *Mary Slessor* is in its nineteenth edition and his *Laws of Livingstonia* in its third, indicates his power as a missionary biographer. He has found another congenial subject in the work of Dr. D. W. (the initials on the wrapper are incorrect) Torrance of Tiberias, and he has given us an entrancing story. Dr. Torrance has spent practically the whole of his life since his appointment in 1884 exercising a healing ministry among Jews, Moslems, and Christians round the sea of Galilee. The venue of his labours makes the account of them all the more interesting. Missionary work carried on under Turkish rule and most unpleasant physical conditions, and in face of Jewish narrowness and Moslem bigotry, calls for unceasing labour, constant tact, and limitless faith. All these are combined in "Trance," whose reputation as a healer has spread far beyond Jordan. From distant places men and women flocked to him, and on one desert journey two warring tribes ceased hostilities that the combatants might visit him. Mr. Livingstone tells the story of a great work with characteristic skill. His new volume will be read not only for its intrinsic interest, but also for the light it throws on the difficult problem of missions to the Jews. As the book will no doubt go to a second edition, "running done" (p. 246) should be corrected, and "given" is better English than "gifted" (p. 269).

G. A. Selwyn was born in 1809 and died in 1878. He was Bishop of Lichfield during the last ten years of his life, but his name will always be associated with New Zealand, of which country he was first Bishop, and where he laboured incessantly for twenty-seven years. This short biography is, of course, ably written, though, as Mrs. Creighton frankly confesses, it is based on larger works rather than on original research. It is of value not only to missionaries, for all Christians can profit both by seeing how a vigorous and versatile personality tackled new and delicate questions and by being reminded of the influence for good and evil of the lives of so-called Christian settlers and traders.

Put together *She* and *Mary Slessor*, and you will have some idea what *A Yellow Napoleon* is like. Book I, which gives an extremely vivid account of West African life, obviously by one who knows it at first hand, is perhaps stronger than Book II, and generally the African characters are better drawn than the English—Feribo, for example, is much more a creature of flesh and blood than is Mildred Fane. The "Yellow Napoleon" is a half-caste who for a time seems likely to win "Africa for Africans," and the book is a very up-to-date illustration of the "self-determination" problem. Mr. Southon is, we believe, a Methodist missionary, but that does not mean that his novel is a tract, even though a missionary whose work results in a mass-movement plays a prominent part in the story. Readers, whether they pick up the book as an ordinary novel or because of their interest in Christian missions, will find that they do not lay it down until they reach the last page.

EDITOR.

PSYCHOLOGY AND RELIGION

The Evolution of the Conscious Faculties. By J. VARENDONCK. Allen & Unwin. 12s. 6d.

Problems in Dynamic Psychology. By J. T. MacCurdy, M.D. Cambridge University Press. 12s. 6d.

What is Psychology? By C. W. HAYWARD, M.D. Allen & Unwin. 7s. 6d.

Recent Psychology and the Christian Religion. By C. E. HUDSON. Allen & Unwin. 3s. 6d.

Christianity and Psychology. By F. R. BARRY, D.S.O. Student Christian Movement. 5s.

Christianity and Auto-Suggestion. By C. H. BROOKS and E. CHARLES. Allen & Unwin. 3s. 6d.

My Method. By E. COUÉ. W. Heinemann. 5s.

The Psychology of Christian Life and Behaviour. By W. S. BRUCE, D.D. T. & T. Clark. 7s. 6d.

The Power Within Us. By C. BAUDOUIN. Allen & Unwin. 3s. 6d.

The fact that all these books have been issued within a comparatively short period is sufficient indication of the widespread interest now taken in psychology and its relation to religion. They also serve to illustrate the confusion of thought which exists on the subject, and the need for careful and scientific investigation. The subject is no doubt a very fascinating one, but it does not lend itself easily to popular treatment, and those who attempt to deal with it in this way are more likely to mislead than to instruct.

Dr. Varendonck is already known through his *Psychology of Day-dreams* as a careful and brilliant exponent of his subject, and the present book on *The Evolution of the Conscious Faculties* is a real contribution to psychological research. He approaches the general subject of consciousness through the phenomena of memory, perception, conception, and unconscious movements or automatism. His study of these conditions is minute and scientific, and his very apt illustrations are drawn from wide experience and observation both of animal and human life. He draws a careful distinction between consciousness and awareness, but argues that consciousness remains a constant element throughout the whole of the zoological scale. His general position is indicated by the following quotation:

> "Over the gulf between the all but complete unconsciousness of the primitive being and the almost continuous conscious state of man there lies a passage that overbridges it; whereas the lower animal is almost entirely dominated by the outer world, man, on the contrary, rules every day more completely his surroundings. The psychic accent has in the course of evolution passed from the non-ego upon the ego, with such consequences as have been described, and of which I recall especially the gradual independence from the objective reality. The degree of this independence, or, if one likes, the relative mastery over the various elements of the surroundings, indicates the place occupied in mental evolution by any individual considered. But the primitive conditions have always remained the same; as soon as man aims at the exteriorization of his ideations he must resort to his conscious system."

It will be seen from this that Dr. Varendonck's treatment of the subject is highly individual, but it is at the same time thoroughly scientific, and his work will always have to be reckoned with in the psychological interpretation of consciousness.

Dr. MacCurdy's book is also a highly scientific discussion of certain aspects of modern psychology. He calls it a *critique* of psycho-analysis and suggested formulations, and he writes as a medical man who approaches the whole question from the pathological point of view. The first part of the book consists of an exposition and criticism of the main Freudian

theories; a most interesting and much needed discussion of the relations between psycho-analysis and suggestion follows, while Parts III and IV discuss the pre-conscious, instincts, and their manifestations. It will be seen, therefore, that in Dr. MacCurdy's treatment dynamic psychology means very little more than psycho-pathology. His book is more useful to those who have to deal with abnormal psychic conditions than to those whose interest is in psychology proper. The discussion and criticism of Freud's theories is very sound and perhaps rather more favourable to Freud than many of his critics are apt to be. But Dr. MacCurdy by no means confines himself to the Freudian point of view; he deals quite as fully with the theories of Ferenczi, Burrow, and Rivers. Those who are interested in the subject will find him a fairly reliable guide through the mazes of pathological psychic conditions.

In his new book Dr. Baudouin gives a definition and exposition of the position which he took up in *Suggestion and Auto-suggestion*. *The Power Within Us* is, in a word, our own personality, and Dr. Baudouin discusses it in its physical, intellectual, and emotional bearings. His thesis comes practically to this: by self-discipline, education, and concentration we can greatly increase our mastery of ourselves and of our circumstances and become captains of our souls. He writes, as always, very clearly and with real psychological insight, but one can hardly escape the feeling that he is all the time giving us elaborate directions as to how we may lift ourselves by our own belts. History and experience alike seem to show that there is a power outside us with which men need to make contact if the power within them is ever to become fully effective. Dr. Baudouin is very persuasive along his own lines, and there is no doubt that men and women can do very much more than they imagine to help themselves to sane and effective life and action. When, however, they have done their utmost they will remain unprofitable servants unless, and until, their efforts are supplemented by what old-fashioned people are justified in calling the grace of God.

With Dr. Hayward's book we find ourselves in a very different atmosphere. It is one of many attempts to popularize psychology, and it amply illustrates the dangers of such an enterprise. Dr. Hayward professes to explain psychology, but his own ideas on the subject seem to be hazy in the extreme. Psychology is the science of mental processes and of the behaviour based upon them. As Dr. Hayward says: "Psychology literally means the knowledge or science of those immaterial characteristics and powers which direct the activity, physical and mental, of each individual." In spite of this definition, however, he constantly uses the term psychology as equivalent to mind or human nature. He speaks of good and bad psychologies, of true and false psychologies, and to the latter he seems to attribute all the evils to which human nature is heir. There is a good deal of common sense in his book and many shrewd suggestions, but it is rather a tract for bad times than a real exposition of what psychology is. It will no doubt be read by many with interest, but it needs also to be read with the greatest caution.

Turning now to the two or three books that deal with the relations of psychology to Christianity, we should put first Mr. Barry's *Christianity and Psychology*, which is a quite admirable introduction to the subject. Mr. Barry recognizes the real importance of the psychological approach to religion. He insists that theology must take account of modern psychological research. At the same time, however, he thoroughly understands the limitations of the subject, and enters many much needed caveats against the exaggerated importance which is too often assigned to it. The book begins with three quite clear and illuminating chapters on Instinct,

the Unconscious, and Suggestion and Will, in the course of which the writer sets out the problems which modern psychology presents both to philosophy and theology. He then definitely discusses the bearing of psychology on the Christian faith and on Christian conduct. He has a very illuminating chapter on the danger of subjectivity in religion, and the whole effect of his discussion is to make it clear that, while psychology helps us to explain many of the more familiar phenomena of religion, it is in no sense a substitute for theology, and in no way diminishes the importance, or lessens the possibility of a divine revelation. His book is published by the Student Christian Movement, and is presumably, therefore, mainly intended for students. They cannot do better than use it, and they will find in Mr. Barry a very safe guide. It has also its appeal to the average Christian, and should do a great deal to dissipate many of the false and misleading views which are current on the subject.

Mr. Hudson's book on *Recent Psychology and the Christian Religion* is a very good companion to Mr. Barry's. On a smaller scale, it covers much the same ground, and shows very clearly how far psychology may be used to interpret and establish the Christian faith, while at the same time clearly recognizing its limitations. Mr. Hudson writes mainly from the point of view of the New Psychology, but he does so deliberately and is quite aware that he only covers a small portion of the available field. His book provides a very useful caution against the wholehearted and all too common belief in psychology as the solution of all religious problems.

Dr. Bruce's *Psychology of Christian Life and Behaviour* is an attempt to show the bearings of psychology on all the present-day needs and problems of the religious life. It is frankly a treatise on pastoral theology from the psychological point of view, and though rather loosely written, and showing rather too much of an obsession with psychology, it is full of practical common sense, and should be useful for the parents, teachers, and preachers, for whom it is really intended.

In *Christianity and Auto-suggestion* Dr. Brooks and Mr. Charles also discuss the bearing of the New Psychology on Christianity. Their emphasis is mainly on the psycho-therapeutic aspect of the subject, and they set themselves definitely to estimate the value of M. Coué's teaching for religion. Their treatment is eminently sane and suggestive, and they make out a very good case for what might be called Christian psycho-analysis. They appear to make good their claim " that the practice of auto-suggestion on the lines laid down by M. Coué and his expositor, Professor Baudouin, has a greater significance for the Christian than for the secularist. It brings back to us after centuries of disuse the element of healing power which distinguished Christ's ministry and that of His apostles. It illuminates the meaning of prayer and faith, and settles the anxious controversy between faith and works. Finally it offers a means by which the Church can escape from its present lethargy and impotence to become once more a source of energy, inspiration, and heroic life." These are certainly large claims, but the writers of the book are confident that they can be substantiated.

M. Coué's latest book—*My Method*—adds very little to our knowledge of his system. The first part of it traverses familiar ground, and shows how auto-suggestion can be applied to the cure of disease, to the building up of moral character, and to the education of children. The second part of the book gives M. Coué's impressions of his recent tour in America. They are fresh and attractive enough, and show the widespread interest that there is in America in the whole subject of psycho-therapy. They can only be described, however, as lively journalism, and have no permanent value.

W. B. Selbie.

The Story of Christ. By GIOVANNI PAPINI. Hodder. 10s. 6d.

Jesus Christ and the Spirit of Youth. By FRANK ILSLEY PARADISE. Mills & Boon. 8s. 6d.

The Constructive Revolution of Jesus. By SAMUEL DICKEY. Swarthmore Press. 6s. and 3s. 6d.

The three books mentioned above may all be included within the tendency of modern Christian thought to return to the actual life and teaching of Jesus, but they approach the subject along very different lines. Papini's *Story of Christ* is mentioned first, because at the moment it stands first in the public view. Long before it appeared in its English translation rumours reached this country of the stir it was making in Italy and France, edition after edition pouring from the press. Such rumours, a little stimulated perhaps, prepared an atmosphere of expectation which so often makes it difficult to arrive at anything like a dispassionate judgment. The book unduly boomed becomes the book unfairly criticized; such is the reviewers' "complex," to use the jargon of the moment. The story behind the book is certainly dramatic enough. Papini was known to his countrymen as a writer of many books long before this one appeared. In the main they reflected the more extreme of modern tendencies in politics and economics and art. They were all tinged with the note of rebellion verging on the hysterical. But in the war and its aftermath Papini came to the conviction that the only hope for the world lay in a new kind of obedience to the teaching of Christ. He faced the issue of "Christ or Chaos," and in spite of his old associations and their embarrassments, he came out openly on the side of his new creed. His *Story of Christ* marks his public declaration of his faith, and one turns to it with the instinctive sympathy which such a story awakens. There is much in his book which is fine. There is a great gift of phrasing, a wide allusiveness, and above all an undercurrent of conviction at white heat which holds the mind. But as a story of Christ for modern times it fails. It is singularly lacking in any sense of the historical method. Modern scholarship and its results might not exist at all as far as Papini is concerned. The book might just as well have been written fifty or a hundred years ago. It is a re-telling of the Gospel story without any kind of discrimination between the various sources on which the story rests. Not only so, but Old Testament figures like Noah are treated with as much historical respect as any of the figures in the New Testament. In dealing with the teaching of Jesus the method is impressionistic rather than scientific, and the total effect is a little unbalanced and one-sided. The whole book reflects the swing of the pendulum from one extreme to the other on the part of a highly sensitive nature. Its interest is therefore mainly psychological and literary, and it must be admitted that the book makes no fresh contribution in thought to the story it sets out to tell. It reminds one a little of those impressions of other countries which are written after a few months' visit by travellers whose discernment does not always match their enthusiasm. Papini would probably have done better to write his own story, and tell us how he came to his present convictions.

In the second book the story of Jesus is re-told to commend Him to the Spirit of Youth. "In Him youth finds its unconquerable Leader through the maze of the tangled web which the selfishness of men and nations has created." Dean Paradise has a certain gift for telling a story descriptively, but his method too often is to allow a few pleasant phrases to build a bridge over difficult problems. His treatment of the story is

modern, but it is the kind of modernity which takes refuge in vagueness and suggests that rival conclusions are admissible instead of offering guidance which is likely to be right. The book in that respect is tantalizing to the mind, though from other points of view it will probably prove helpful to the reader for whom the more human method of approach to the story of Jesus is a new road.

Professor Dickey's book is of a different order from the other two. It limits its inquiry to certain aspects of the story of Jesus, discussing His attitude to some of the conflicting loyalties of His time, in politics and economics as well as in religion. The methods and results of modern scholarship are fully taken into account in this study, and, while it does not give the impression of any attempt at finality in its conclusions, it sharpens the contrast between the teaching of Jesus and the orthodoxies both of His own age and of ours in politics and religion. The note of challenge is in the book, and every chapter is a protest against the picture of Jesus in neutral colours so often presented. Professor Dickey's is the smallest of the three books, but it is the fullest as well; it will be found suggestive and helpful to those who are looking for clearer light upon the application of Christian principles to some of the world conditions of to-day.

S. M. Berry.

Robert Browning. The Poet and the Man. By Frances M. Sim. T. Fisher Unwin. 10s. 6d.

Tennyson. By Harold Nicolson. Constable. 12s. 6d.

These two books, read consecutively, present some contrasts and start many trains of reflection. Browning and Tennyson, outstanding poets of the Victorian era, have always provoked comparison. Miss Sim writes as a full-hearted disciple of Browning; Mr. Nicolson is severely critical of his author. In each case they but follow the stream of tendency: Browning gathers fewer critics and more admirers; Tennyson is overweighted in these days with critics. In this, perhaps, there is a kind of poetic justice: Browning had little share of the world's admiration during his lifetime; Tennyson lived to reap the full reward of popular approval.

It can scarcely be said that Miss Sim adds very much to our intimate knowledge of Browning. But can we know too much? Every time the oft-told story is re-told, expecially by a disciple, we gain some increasing insight. For Browning, even more than most poets, dipped his pen in his heart's blood. Events are so many keys to the understanding of his poems, though they are still but of secondary importance. For when an event forces its way into the consciousness of such a man as Browning, it is stripped of some of its garb, and clothed anew by imagination, sympathy, insight, and in his case by prophetic fervour, and is scarcely recognizable when it comes forth again as the spirit of poetry. Lovers of Browning will not be too captious towards Miss Sim's attempt to show us his soul as her soul sees it. There may be nothing very new, but the work has been done with sympathy and appreciation, and is pleasant reading.

Mr. Nicolson's work breathes a different spirit. It is by no means a panegyric—indeed, no one just now appears to be writing panegyrics upon Tennyson—but it is an attempt to save the reputation of Tennyson as a first-rate writer of lyrics from the wreckage due to his being diverted and even swamped by dramatic, narrative, ethical, theological, and didactic tendencies. This is to make a fell swoop upon Tennyson as we have known him.

Mr. Nicolson assumes an attitude of lofty tolerance towards the Victorian era. He is at his ease in demonstrating that the answers which it found to life's most pressing questions were only provisional, and that their point of view was quite different from our own. He almost seems to think that our age has reached finality. He says in his chapter on "Tennyson and His Age" that "the present generation has grown up with but few illusions left to shatter; we have seen so much already that our eyelids, by now, are more than a little weary; we are resigned in advance to whatever misfortunes the future has in store for us; we have lost our faith in individual endeavour; we are losing our interest in posterity; we are content to cultivate our gardens and to know that there are few things to-day which would come to us as a surprise." One may admit this, but would hate to think it was the last and final attitude for man to take towards life. Shell-shock is surely not the "one far-off Divine event to which the whole creation moves."

This weary attitude of mind is characteristic of Mr. Nicolson's book. He is indignant that the youthful Tennyson should ever have been a member of the Trinity "Apostles" at Cambridge, where "the strength that was in him was diverted into ethical, and not, as one might have wished, into emotional channels." This was the crowning disaster in Mr. Nicolson's view. "By the time he left Cambridge the harm had been done. The great lyric poet who had been born up there among the Lincolnshire wolds had been already tamed, controlled, labelled, and given a function unnatural to his genius; the wild, unhappy animal that lurked within him had been caged and shackled, and the real intention and meaning of the man had been for ever veiled—even from himself."

And now, all we can do is to forget these misfortunes, and have an expurgated edition of Tennyson in which we shall "recall only the low booming of the North Sea upon the dunes; the grey clouds lowering above the wold; the moan of the night wind on the fen; the far glimmer of marsh-pools through the reeds; the cold, the half-light, and the gloom."

It may be so, and it is certainly very pretty. But mankind will want a little more than just that from the poets whom it instals in its Pantheon. We prefer to keep the whole Tennyson for better or for worse. We are not unconscious of the limitations which were natural in his age; we have even made the same discovery concerning some of the writers in Holy Writ; but the lesson it has taught us is to be somewhat more diffident concerning our own knowledge. "We know in part, and we prophesy in part." We still confess that half a solution, or even a guess at a solution, of some of the deeper moral and intellectual problems of life is in the long run more interesting and even more abiding than any amount of booming seas or moaning night winds. Tennyson has a good deal to answer for, and is often disappointing enough, but he will not be "saved" by Mr. Nicolson.

F. W. Norwood.

The Appearance of Mind. By James Clark McKerrow, M.B. Longmans. 6s.

The thesis of this book (p. v.) is that Mind "is not a reality." All that happens in the realm of consciousness is capable of being stated by a sufficiently determined effort in terms of Bio-chemistry. "Viable equilibrium," which seems to mean an equilibrium in the living organism such as is capable of surviving, is the key to the riddle of the universe. "Sense-consciousness" is due to the locomotion of animals, and "thought-

consciousness" is due to speech. These positions are illustrated by numerous perplexing diagrams. Ultimately we are assured that, while such theses are scientifically certain, they are practically meaningless. We must still believe practically in mind, in thought, in persons. We may even believe in God if we like. Belief in immortality, however, has worn too thin to be worth salving at all.

A young relative of the reviewer's, who picked up the book, expressed the opinion that it was a "glorious rag," and that the author was "pulling the leg of the psychologists." Perhaps she is right.

ROBERT MACKINTOSH.

Outlines of a Philosophy of Life. By ALBAN G. WIDGERY, M.A. Williams & NORGATE. 7s. 6d.

Mr. Widgery's name will be known to many as translator of Eucken's *Life's Basis and Life's Ideal.* While he was Professor of Philosophy (and apparently also of Comparative Religion, p. 271) at Baroda, this book, now offered to the West, was produced for the East; one gathers that the copies which are being published in London were part of the original issue "on grey paper"—it might be harsh to call the type "blunt." There is a new title-page and preface, but there is no printer's name. The top of page 1 suggests that the volume was issued in India as *Goods and Bads*, with the present title as a sub-heading. From the preface we learn that the book grew out of talks on philosophy with the Maharajah Gaekwar; his Highness evincing little taste for technical metaphysics, Professor Widgery inclined rather to a practical treatment (very realistic at times; p. 47: "Every house should have at least one bathroom and other conveniences arranged on the best sanitary principles"). We must bear in mind this practical purpose if we are to be fair to the book.

The marks of the East are plain enough. It is wrong to insist too strongly upon monogamy; polygamy, polyandry, may be better under certain conditions, if all are to have the chance of marrying. Nay, in this post-war period it appears that facilities should be offered to the surplusage of single women for seeking motherhood in all honour if they so desire. Again, Christian missions are sharply rebuked if they wish to "absorb" other faiths; that is "abhorrent." All religions have their contributions to bring. We want a "federation of religious communities." Yet is not the aim and claim to universality a characteristic feature in one after another of the world's great religions?

Philosophically, Mr. Widgery's book is a study of values—Physical (these are identified with Pleasure values), Intellectual, Moral, Æsthetic, and Religious. A final chapter deals with the unification and harmonization of the different types; and a brief appendix, by an afterthought, insists that among values we must not forget *humour*. The author's positive conclusions are in favour of Theism and of Socialism; the latter is said, with easy confidence, to be ethically far in advance of any "competitive" system.

Such is the strange mixture that was handed out as the Wisdom of the West in answer to the "Questions" of a modern "King Milinda." While the book comes from a competent and well-read mind, clear of ordinary British prejudices, it belongs upon the whole to the Curiosities of Literature.

ROBERT MACKINTOSH.

NON-CHRISTIAN RELIGIONS.

The Idea of Personality in Sūfism. By R. A. Nicholson, Litt.D., LL.D., F.B.A. Cambridge University Press. 5s.

The Comparative Study of Religion. By A. G. Widgery, M.A. Williams & Norgate. 12s. 6d.

Hindu Ethics. By John McKenzie, M.A. Oxford University Press. 10s. 6d.

Gotama Buddha. By K. J. Saunders, M.A. Association Press (Y.M.C.A.), Calcutta. Oxford University Press. 2s. 6d.

If our knowledge of Islām were confined to the Qurān, it would be impossible to understand its continued vitality. The Muhammad of modern Islām has a far greater place in the devotion of his followers than his own words would suggest, and there have been many Muslim saints who have found in Allāh, not the great taskmaster alone, but the intimate reality of life. It is here that the study of Sūfism is of such importance, and we are fortunate in having in England one of the greatest of its European interpreters, Dr. R. A. Nicholson, the Lecturer in Persian at Cambridge, whose recently published *Studies in Islāmic Mysticism* is the standard work on Sūfism. In an earlier and shorter book, *The Mystics of Islām*, he laid stress on the quest of the Sūfī saint for a unity with God, in which the self is annihilated in the ocean of Godhead. In the three lectures which make up his *Idea of Personality in Sūfism* he seeks to show that, with all its emphasis on the "unitive state," Sūfism "is not necessarily pantheistic, but often bears the mark of a genuine personal religion inspired by a personal God, even if we must beware of attributing to Moslems all that the term 'personality' suggests to us." The book is brilliantly written and a delight to read. It makes the paradox of Islām a little easier to understand, and explains in some measure the devotion which Islām can still win from devout and zealous men. Small as it is, this book is indispensable for the study of Islām, whilst all interested in the literature of Mysticism will find here an account of one of its most notable forms which is as sympathetic as it is scholarly.

The Comparative Study of Religion is a book very difficult to review in the space at our disposal. Its author will be known to many of our readers from his interesting adaptation of Weinel's book, *Jesus in the Nineteenth Century and After*, and from his translations of some of Eucken's works. The book before us is based on lectures, given in Baroda in 1915 under the patronage of its Gaekwar, and before the University of Mysore in 1921. It is obviously the product of wide learning, and is very rich in illustrative passages from Eastern religions. It is unfortunate that it appears in so unscholarly a form. It is scarcely possible to recommend to beginners a book in which authors' names are often misspelt and Eastern words carelessly transliterated. Mr. Widgery explains that the book was printed on two small Indian presses, and we can well understand the difficulties he had to face. We cannot but feel that it would have been better if he had deferred printing until his arrival in England last year. Had he done so, he would also have been able to use recent books of fundamental importance which apparently did not reach him in India. It is difficult to believe that he would have written as he has done on Supernatural Beings if he had read Archbishop Söderblom's great book, *The Origin of the Belief in God* (*Das Werden des Gottesglaubens*), or that,

if he had read Otto's book, *The Holy* (*Das Heilige*), he would have laid so little stress on awe as the distinctive element of religion. Eclecticism is popular in India, and goes well with the Agnosticism of its most influential Philosophy. If the ultimate Reality be unknowable, it matters little by what names He is called, and doubtless many of Mr. Widgery's hearers appreciated his combination of a profound interest in religion with a refusal to pronounce on the truth of any one religion. One is reminded, as one reads, of Dean Inge's words: "It is easier and pleasanter to be an honorary member of all the religions than a humble adherent of one." Mr. Widgery, like some other writers of his school, too readily assumes that only those who refuse to recognize in any one religion final value can speak with sympathy and insight of alien faiths. It is curious, in view of his somewhat supercilious references to missionary books, to notice how many of the translations and studies on which he relies are the work of missionaries. Acceptance of the Christian revelation need not make men arrogant and censorious. Instead, it may make them eager to study and to understand the highest aspirations of non-Christian religions in order that they may relate to these the Christian Gospel. Concerning taste it is hard to argue, but to many Christian readers Mr. Widgery's choice of illustrations will be offensive. It may be useful in a book of this sort to provide photographs of sacred sites and objects, but there seems no justification for giving a picture of Christ upon the Cross in a series of illustrations which include photographs of goddess-worship and sex emblems.

Mr. McKenzie's book on *Hindu Ethics* belongs to the *Religious Quest of India* Series, a series which in itself is sufficient to show how compatible is a fully Christian faith with the scholarly and sympathetic study of non-Christian religions. If greatness is to be measured by service to the Kingdom of God, then there is no man in Congregationalism of whom we have more reason to be proud than its editor, Dr. Farquhar. His own books marked a new beginning in missionary apologetic, and the series he is editing form, as a whole, the most notable contributions yet made to the study of any non-Christian religion. We have read Mr. McKenzie's book with great interest and appreciation. The weakness of Hinduism is most obvious in its ethics, and to write a book on Hindu and Christian ethics to be read by educated Hindu readers was a task requiring the highest gifts. Nowhere does Mr. McKenzie's insight seem to fail. His book is not only a notable account of Hindu thought and practice, but an unusually clear portrayal of the nature and unity of the Christian Ethic itself. To missionaries it will be wellnigh indispensable. We would recommend it, not to them alone, but to all who are interested in religion and prepared for serious reading.

Mr. Saunders' *Gotama Buddha* belongs to the *Heritage of India* Series, a series of Dr. Farquhar's, which provides short and simple books, sold in India for a few annas, written by "a group of Christian men, in order that every Indian, whether rich or poor, may be able to find his way into the treasures of India's past." The book is admirably adapted for this purpose and should be widely read, not in India only, but in England. Too many here are content to derive their knowledge of the greatest Indian teacher from Sir Edwin Arnold's *Light of Asia*, a poem based on Sanskrit works written many centuries after Gotama's death; whilst the English translation of Oldenberg's classic life, based on Pāli sources, is from an early edition, and, unlike the German original, has not been brought up

to date. The one criticism we would make of Mr. Saunders' book is that Gotama's life is unduly isolated. Early Buddhism is best regarded as part of the vast complex of Hinduism, and although Buddhism is almost extinct in India, Gotama is best depicted as an Indian seer. This little volume is as easy to read as a novel (and more interesting than most), but simple as is its style, it is based on the best modern authorities and on a careful study of the Pāli texts.

Professor Keith's *Buddhist Philosophy* came to hand after these notes were written. Its importance calls for full discussion, which it will receive next quarter.

SYDNEY CAVE.

Q, The Earliest Gospel? An Elementary Reconstruction. By ALBERT PEEL, M.A., Litt.D. Teachers and Taught. 6d.

The Origin of the Synoptic Gospels. By H. G. JAMESON, M.A. Oxford: Blackwell. 6s.

Dr. Peel has rendered us all a service in his little pamphlet on the reconstruction of Q. Q has been much talked about in recent years, and it is a great boon to be able to place in the hands of New Testament students a picture of some of the contents of this document. All reconstructions of Q must in the very nature of the case be hypothetical, and much of its contents are irrecoverable. Dr. Peel follows in the main Harnack's reconstruction in his *Sayings of Jesus*, especially in the preference which he shows for the Lukan order and text of the Logia. There will always be diversity of opinion about the details of the contents of Q, but in the main Dr. Peel is a safe guide to follow. He has gone to work on scientific lines. He states his conclusions with modesty and sincerity, and his results are in accordance with the main findings of the majority of those scholars who adopt the "Two-Document" theory of the origin of the Synoptic Gospels..

Mr. Jameson takes up an entirely opposite position. He attacks the "Two-Document" hypothesis, denies the existence of Q altogether, and advocates a return to the Augustinian position. His theory is as follows: Our Matthew was the earliest Gospel to be written. Mark is an abbreviated form of Matthew. Luke is based on Matthew and Mark, with many additions drawn from other sources. The revival of the Augustinian theory is not new in modern times, for it has the support of Zahn. Mr. Jameson is very skilful in his manipulation of the facts and makes many new points of interest. He is very acute in penetrating the weak places in the armoury of the "Two-Document" hypothesis, and his restatement of the case for the priority of Matthew will have to be taken into account in all future discussions. But after reading the book with care, I am still unconvinced. It seems to me quite inconceivable (in spite of all Mr. Jameson says) that if Mark had Matthew before him as he wrote, he could have omitted so many vital elements in the first Gospel. It is not possible to enter into the *minutiæ* of the argument in a brief notice of the book, but I may perhaps mention one or two cases where it seems to me quite incomprehensible to suppose that Matthew is the primary source. In Matthew 19^{17}, in answer to an inquirer's question: "Good Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal life?" Jesus replied: "Why do you ask me about the good." In Mark the reply is different: "Why do you call me good?" It is very difficult to think that Mark made the alteration. It is much more likely that the change was effected by Matthew in order to remove an objection to the later Christology of the Church. Again, in Matthew 12^{32}, there is a double account in two consecutive verses of the character of the unforgivable sin, one of which is given in Mark, and the

other in Luke. It is not likely that Luke and Mark each selected half of Matthew's statement. It is much more probable that Matthew's account is a conflation of two different versions of the "sayings of Jesus," one of which appeared in Mark and the other in Q.

HERBERT T. ANDREWS.

Life's True Values. Edited by SIR JAMES MARCHANT. Allenson. 5s.

It is no small thing that our leading English newspaper should week by week publish an article dealing with some religious topic. Whether it is done as a business proposition pure and simple, or whether it is done because those responsible for the policy of *The Times* desire that the paper should bear its witness to the reality of the spiritual, the publication of these articles is something for which all good men must feel grateful. *The Times* reaches people who are clean beyond the range of the Christian preacher. By means of this column all its readers get reminded of things unseen and eternal.

It is a number of these Saturday essays which Sir James Marchant has collected into a book to which he has given the title *Life's True Values*. The Archbishop of York, who writes a Foreword, speaks for a great many people when he says that he has been "interested, stimulated, and helped" by these essays as they appeared in *The Times*. But somehow they do not seem quite so significant when collected into a volume. They seemed definitely and distinctly religious in the columns of *The Times*; collected together into a book, the religion seems a little tepid and thin. The truth is, I suppose, that for the purposes of *The Times* it was desirable that the articles should not be too definitely, enthusiastically, and aggressively Christian. Their lack of definiteness and pith and glow becomes, however, noticeable when they are thus brought together. Still, the work was worth doing, and Sir James Marchant has done it well. The essays are obviously written (in the main) from the Anglican point of view. Many of them concern themselves with the great events of the Church Year. The writer, however, has no patience with certain modern tendencies in Anglicanism, as the essay on "Formation" clearly shows. But although the Anglican flavour is unmistakable, it does not detract from the book's value, for it is with the great simplicities of faith and conduct it for the most part deals. The essays are easily read, for they are simply and clearly written, and they are pervaded throughout by a spirit of sweet reasonableness. They were written primarily for lay readers, and it is for the same class of reader that the book is probably designed; but the preacher may get hints and suggestions from such chapters as those on "Opportunity," "Frivolity," "The Sin of Stupidity," and "Mercy."

J. D. JONES.

Proof of the Existence of God. By CHARLES EDWARD PELL. Cecil Palmer. 7s. 6d.

The Certainty of God. By W. J. MOULTON, M.A., B.D. Student Christian Movement. 3s. 6d. and 2s. 6d.

The purpose of Mr. Pell's book is to re-establish the teleological argument for the existence of God. Paley's argument from design, with its famous illustration of the watch, was set aside when the Darwinian theory of natural selection came into vogue. If organisms, which seemed to bear the marks of design, could be produced by the operation of blind and unguided forces, there was no need for the hypothesis of foresight and design. There is no need to suppose that the universe is the result of fore-

sight if it can be adequately accounted for by the "incidental adjustment of blind forces working according to the laws of chance." When under the leadership of Huxley and Darwin the latter hypothesis held the field, the teleological theory was pushed into the background. This book shows with convincing power that the naturalistic explanation must be ruled out, and re-establishes the teleological argument in a modern form.

The Certainty of God should be read by all who desire to have a clear statement of the Christian faith. In successive chapters the author, who is the Principal of Didsbury College, Manchester, deals with "Our Faith in God," "The Meaning of Jesus Christ," "The Fact of Sin," "The Meaning of the Cross," "The Fact of Conversion," "The Social Consequences of Salvation," etc. The book is *multum in parvo*. Every chapter is packed full of thought expressed in clear, forceful, untechnical language. The Student Movement has enriched its series of volumes by publishing this book. It should be a great help to all who are trying to find God.

A. R. Henderson.

The Watch Tower. By H. W. Clark, D.D. Chapman & Hall. 1920. 5s.
Pilate and Other Poems. By H. W. Clark, D.D. Chapman & Hall. 1922. 3s. 6d.

Those of us who have valued the work of Dr. Clark as philosopher, historian, and homilist, naturally turn with interest to these slender volumes in which he appears in the rôle of poet. His modesty will surely not allow him to dismiss us as among "the rest who do not matter" if we say at once that our appreciation of his verse is tempered with some criticism. After all, no one has the right to court three or four of the muses and expect in every case to be equally successful in his suit. If Clio has been kind to him he cannot object if Euterpe is somewhat coy of her favours.

A line of his own apologia describes the quality and the limitation of Dr. Clark's verse. He speaks of himself as a lover of poetry who has tried to write poetry. His inspiration is of the poets rather than directly from the themes of song. It would not be difficult to guess at his favourite authors, and, when all is said, he remains a philosopher donning for the hour the mantle of the poet.

This is not to say that anyone can turn the pages of these two books without being interested. The thought of Dr. Clark is always worth following—indeed, his appeal throughout is more to the mind than to the imagination and the emotions. Even when he touches the themes of love and sorrow, we find interest in what he says rather than in the way he says it. Here, is sometimes musical thought, but rarely clad in the final grace of musical language. His lyric verse is somewhat heavy on the wing. His line does not sing easily, or make a swift assault upon the ear.

It follows that he is more successful in verse that takes properly the more sober pace of meditation and in some of the longer poems, such as "Savonarola," "Cephas," and "Pilate"—dramatic monologues modelled probably on Robert Browning—in which the test of the singing quality of verse is less exacting. In the last-named poem, which occupies more than half of the second volume, the problem of the character of the Roman Procurator will hold the interest of many who are not concerned about the more critical canons of poetry or delayed by questions of rhyme and rhythm.

W. Charter Piggott.

The Poets' Life of Christ. Compiled, arranged, and decorated by Norman Ault. Humphrey Milford. 7s. 6d.

For producing this beautiful book Mr. Norman Ault combines several rare and yet distinct qualifications. Himself a genuine poet, he reveals his very wide knowledge of English verse, as well as his fine appreciation of poetic values. Not less vital is his deep unaffected sympathy with the Subject of the poems which he has here chosen and arranged. Nobody with any experience of the trials of anthology-making will feel inclined to criticize Mr. Ault's result. He has brought together nearly four hundred pieces, many of them drawn from sources not readily available and new to ordinary readers. Yet it is quite remarkable to find how very few among them we could wish away. Mr. Ault, of course, asserts his individuality, alike in selection and in omission. It is plain that he feels himself most at home among seventeenth-century religious poets, like Crashaw and Vaughan. Perhaps he gives us rather a surfeit of Quarles, and he certainly draws on modern singers with a frugal hand. We wish, for instance, that he had found room to include George MacDonald's "Consider the Ravens" and Louise Imogen Guiney's "Virgo gloriosa, Mater amantissima." But preferences like these are of small account, compared with the splendid combination which Mr. Ault has achieved. It was a real inspiration to begin the volume with William Blake's soaring verses as Prelude, and to conclude it with Alice Meynell's wonderful "Christ in the Universe" as Envoy. Lovers of Christian poetry will not stint their gratitude to the compiler of this lovely and original anthology.

T. H. Darlow.

The Reform of Education. By Giovanni Gentile. Authorized translation by Dino Bigongiari. With an Introduction by Benedetto Croce. Benn Brothers. 8s. 6d.

Whenever the zeal for reformation in any particular direction breaks the flood-gates, it is necessary for us sometimes to stop and consider, and to say: "Physician, heal thyself." So it has always been, and so it is now. There are probably in the world to-day more persons engaged in devising methods of reforming our educational systems than there have ever been before. There could be no more healthy sign; but it should be remembered that hand in hand with the reform of education must always go the education of the reformer. Generally, the fault lies in superficiality; the reformer, having diagnosed the disease, is content to treat the symptoms. Here the fault lies in profundity.

The writer of this book is Professor of Philosophy in the University of Rome and Minister of Education in the Government of Italy—an interesting combination which would have been dear to Plato's heart. The book consists of a series of lectures delivered to school teachers of the city of Trieste, shortly after that city fell into Italian hands, "to welcome them to their new duties as citizens and officials of Italy." This circumstance accounts, perhaps, for the exaggerated nationalism of the first chapter—perhaps for the very existence of the first chapter—which, entitled "Education and Nationality," is really irrelevant to the rest of the book. And yet can anything be irrelevant to this book? We wonder, as we read on through the chapters on "Realism and Idealism in the Concept of Culture," "The Spirituality of Culture," "The Bias of Realism," and "The Ideal of Education" (which latter we find frankly unintelligible). The Professor of Philosophy takes charge and the Minister of Education recedes into the background. The theme of these pages is tha ' by education we mean

the creation of a living culture, which shall be the life of the human mind : " culture is the life of the spirit, which is work. But what is life and what is spirit and what is the human mind ? The Professor, in pages often of fine eloquence and a noble philosophical idealism, tells us ; and reading carefully we find here much enlightenment—but only by careful reading ; and we find it hard to believe that the school teachers of Trieste can have carried away from the lecture-room much to help them on their arduous way. And is it really necessary that even philosophers should talk like this ? " The ' ego ' is called ' subject,' because it contains within itself an object which is not diverse but identical with it. As a pure subject it is already a relationship ; it is self-affirmation and therefore affirmation of an object, but of an object, be it remembered, in which the subject is not alienated from itself ; by which, rather, it truly returns to itself, embraces itself, and thus originatively realizes itself " (p. 118). What did the school teachers of Trieste make of that ?

The fact is that we are disappointed with this book. As an introduction to the idealistic philosophy of modern Italy, we would commend it to those who have time and zeal. But the title of the book is really a misnomer ; and we have yet to learn what are the practical results in the schools of Italy of Professor Gentile's high idealism.

MAURICE L. JACKS.

The Religious Training of Immaturity. By CONSTANCE L. MAYNARD. National Sunday School Union. 2s. 6d. net.

Children as Jesus Saw Them. By HAROLD WILSON, M.A. National Sunday School Union. 9d. net.

Suggestions on Sunday-school Work. By W. J. BROWN, B.D. Skeffingtons. 3s. 6d. net.

Immaturity may mean any age up to adulthood, but Miss Maynard has chiefly confined herself to the earlier years of childhood. She endeavours to trace in outline, not so much the life stages of the child, but the attitude of the parent with regard to the child at various stages. She asks her readers to remember that when using the words " Father " and " Mother," she is also speaking perhaps even primarily to those for whom the actual physical bond is absent and who take up the love and duty of parents in the widest sense. " I would speak," writes the author, " especially to women ; . . . some few women can most rightly take up the duties of men ; . . . but on the whole the men have to deal with the present and the women with the future. Half the human race is told off to look after immaturity ! It is a strange thought, but so it is, and as immaturity lasts so long, our powers, intellectual as well as moral, may be taxed to the utmost to keep up with its expansion."

The increasing number of books coming from the press dealing with religious education is one of the most hopeful signs of the times. In *Children as Jesus Saw Them* we have an attempt to show the point of view of one who considers it supremely important that Sunday-school teachers should see children as far as possible as Jesus saw them. Dr. T. R. Glover, Dr. A. B. Bruce, Professor J. A. Findlay, and other modern writers are quoted as showing how fundamental it is that we should understand this aspect of our Master's teaching. The chapter on " The Value of Children to Men " is perhaps one of the most helpful in the book. The writer says : " Because they [children] bring out the best that is in us, make us dare and do and endure for their sakes things from which we should shrink for our own, call us to heights of purity and sacrifice that

otherwise we should never attempt to scale, we can hardly over-estimate the value of the child as the educator of the heart of man."

In *Suggestions on Sunday-school Work*, the Director of Religious Education in the Diocese of Wakefield has written a book that should be extremely helpful to schools contemplating grading and re-organization along modern lines, particularly in the Church of England. A lengthy list of recommended books is included. One is always tempted to add to, and sometimes to take from, such lists, but while there are a number of publications we would like to have seen included, we feel sure that if those who are contemplating Sunday-school reform will make a careful study of the publications here referred to, they will find much to help them.

S. Allen Warner.

SHORTER NOTICES AND DESCRIPTIVE LIST

In *The Local Colour of the Bible* (Edinburgh, T. &. T. Clark, 8s.)—the first of three volumes—Dr. C. W. Budden and the Rev. E. Hastings, both of whom have lived and travelled in the East, aim at helping Bible students by showing the light thrown on the Scriptures by historical, archæological, and geographical discovery. This volume deals with Gen. to 2 Sam., and the social life and organization, the worship and manners, the ritual and beliefs of the Hebrews and surrounding peoples, are illuminated by the personal observation of the writers, and by recent research. Ministers who have found help in expounding the O.T. in Sir J. G. Frazer's writings will be certain to discover much illustrative matter in this work.

Dr. Nairne (*Every Man's Story of the Old Testament*, Mowbray, 6s. and 4s. 6d.) sets out to tell " the story of Israel and Israel's writings " for the general reader, and, aided by his publishers, who have supplied the book with excellent illustrations, he succeeds. This is a book that can with advantage be given to thinking young people of Secondary School age, or to older people with little previous knowledge of the O.T. They cannot fail to be stimulated to further reading by its attractive pages.

Of the Rev. T. H. Darlow's retirement mention has been made in the Editorial. In *At Home in the Bible* (Hodder, 6s.) Mr. Darlow reprints 74 meditations from the Bible Society's monthly journal, marked by the freshness and grace that characterize all his writings.

The Reformers and the Bible (by L. Elliott Binns, Cambridge, Heffer, 1s. 6d.) consists of four articles reprinted from *The Record* dealing with the Reformers' views of the authority of the Bible, a subject concerning which there is much loose thinking.

Probably Professor N. Micklem will not be complimented if we say we have *enjoyed* his " Tract for the Times " (*God's Freemen*, Jas. Clarke, 5s.), but will feel like the preacher who, having poured forth his soul, is thanked for a " beautiful," or even a " nice," sermon. Nevertheless it has been a real pleasure to find so many apt quotations—often from neglected writers (we wish Mr. Micklem quoted our Elizabethans at first-hand and not *via* other writers)—knit together into a sustained argument for true freedom. Mr. Micklem builds on the past, and if Christians only knew a little more Church history much time and breath might be saved. We would specially commend the discussion on reunion in chaps. viii and ix to all Congregationalists, and especially to our representatives on the Federal Council.

Everything the Rev. Malcolm Spencer writes repays careful study,

and *Work, Play, and the Gospel* (S.C.M., 4s. and 2s. 6d.) is full of suggestion to ministers and all workers among the young. The book is marked by a sane and healthy optimism, and if at times Mr. Spencer does seem a little fastidious, he always presses for the recognition of a full-orbed life for people, young and old.

We scarcely think that Dr. Neville Talbot would approve his publisher's description of these articles (*The Returning Tide of Faith*, Nisbet, 5s.) reprinted from a Johannesburg paper, as "a complete statement of the Christian faith." The book is, indeed, an admirable attempt to popularize theology and make it intelligible to the man in the street, and many busy people will welcome it and benefit from its perusal. Consideration of controversial questions like the Sacraments is omitted.

Having read the first chapter of *Credo* (Jas. Clarke, 5s.) we thought the Rev. F. W. Aveling had given us a book for which adult class leaders and ministers would be profoundly grateful. We regret that subsequent chapters did not confirm this first impression. Some of them appear to be spoken addresses delivered many years ago, and they have quite a musty flavour. There is a useful chronology of events from David to Christ.

What is there in man that deserves to last? What are the marks of permanence? Dr. Adams Brown answers these questions in *The Creative Experience* (Hodder, 2s. 6d.). Man makes things, makes new things; he initiates and experiments; he creates and creates things that endure and express his personality. In this creative experience is an intimation of immortality.

Presbyterianism has always laid stress on preaching, and no better book for ministers has ever been written than John Watson's *Cure of Souls*, which every minister ought to read frequently for his soul's good and for the work's sake. Now it gives us another valuable work in Dr. R. C. Gillie's *The Minister in the Modern World* (A. & C. Black, 3s. 6d.), which is a preacher's book for preachers, filled with sound advice drawn from a rich experience. It abounds in illustration, and is constructive, explaining not only what is to be avoided, but how the work is to be done.

There is little that is new in Professor R. L. Webb's *The Ministry as a Life Work* (New York, Macmillan Co., 1922, 4s. 6d.), which deals with the lack of students for the ministry and its causes, the training of the ministry and its opportunity. Apparently the problem is much the same in the United States as on this side. There are some slips in the book, and some names have suffered a sea-change; Carey came from "Kittery, England."

Religion and Life (Oxford, Blackwell, 1s. 6d.) consists of six addresses on the foundations of personal religion delivered to Oxford undergraduates by Dean Inge, Dr. D. S. Cairns, the Rev. W. F. Halliday, the Bishop of Pretoria, Dr. William Brown, and Father Frere—a most suitable list of names.

The Renaissance of Religion (Epworth Press, 3s. 6d.) contains twelve sermons by the well-known American preacher, Dr. Lynn Harold Hough. Dr. Hough has the historical temperament, and sees things in focus, while his treatment of his subjects is always fresh and interesting.

In *Seven Ages* (Mills and Boon, 5s.) A Gentleman with a Duster forsakes the interpretation of modern personalities for that of historical periods, a much more difficult task. The number and the periods are somewhat arbitrarily chosen, the "seven ages" being those of Socrates, Aristotle, Jesus, Augustine, Erasmus, Cromwell, and Wesley. It will be noted that no name occurs between the fourth and the fifteenth centuries. The writer has a keen intelligence and a ready pen, and the book deserves careful reading, though sometimes the journalistic propensity for saying a smart

thing is not restrained—witness the description of Freud as "of one idea, and that a nasty one."

The Yorkshire Congregational Union, 1873–1923 (Jas. Clarke, 2s. 6d.), has been fortunate in its chronicler, the Rev. Francis Wrigley. His well-written survey describes the work of the Union from its first Assembly, the last chapter consisting of extracts from all the Presidential addresses. No County Union has been more fortunate than Yorkshire in its officials, and Mr. Wrigley pays a deserved tribute to them. The book traces not only the growth of the Union, but also the change that has come over the thought and outlook of the Churches during the fifty years. It must be said, however, that Yorkshire's transition to the "social gospel" and the "institutional Church" cannot be adequately described without some reference to Salem, Leeds, and "Smith and Wrigley."

We scarcely think the new volume in the State Trials series (*Mary Queen of Scots*, by A. F. Steuart, Hodge, 10s. 6d.) will satisfy either the curious and prurient, or the scholar and specialist. It contains the legal documents relating to the trial of the "better than innocent" Queen, but little that is unfamiliar to the serious student. The bias which Mr. Steuart's name unfortunately suggests is confirmed in his brief introduction.

The R.T.S. (3s. 6d.) has done well to reprint the Rev. W. J. L. Sheppard's articles (*Great Hymns and their Stories*), a most interesting volume in which the stories of more than a hundred hymns are told.

The Rev. W. J. May has a decided gift for children's addresses, and ministers will find the thirty-six nature parables in *A Garden of Beautiful Stories* (Allenson, 5s.) extremely suggestive. Some of the garden stories are very good indeed.

Mr. Silas K. Hocking's *My Book of Memory* (Cassell, 10s. 6d.) will inevitably be widely read, for, becoming a minister in 1870 and a novelist in 1878, he has lived a full life as politician and traveller, and written books that have been read by the hundred thousand. In this book he gossips about the many interesting people he has met and the varied experiences that have been his lot, and tells many good stories, new and old.

In *Natural Education* (The Bodley Head, 6s.) Mrs. W. S. Stoner gives an account of the training of her daughter and namesake, who at five years of age could write jingles and newspaper articles, and express her thoughts in eight languages. Mrs. Stoner, herself a gifted woman, believes that the idea of retarding a child's mental development is mistaken. Education should begin in infancy; children should never hear baby-talk or incorrect speech. Winifred was put to sleep by the reading of the *Æneid*, and when a year old could scan the first ten lines of Book I. Selections from the best poets were read to her from the beginning, and she would lie quietly during *Crossing the Bar* and kick lustily to *Horatius*. All along she was treated as a thinking being, and her games were never casual or purposeless. Will the prodigy turn out a prig? The mother claims she is a normal, strong, healthy child; but the American newspapers are full of her accomplishments, and we feel inclined to pity the man destined to marry her! The book is full of interest to teachers and parents, and its underlying contention calls for thorough discussion.

The Fourth Report of the National Birthrate Commission (*Youth and the Race*, edited by Sir J. Marchant, Kegan Paul, 15s.) is a useful document, containing as it does the evidence of representative and authoritative people as to when sex teaching should begin and how it should be taught. The Commissioners are men and women of wide experience, and, in spite of considerable differences of opinion among the witnesses, they are able to make certain recommendations. In a book that should be carefully

studied by parents, doctors, and teachers, it is a pity that the index should be so slight and the misprints so many.

Haydn Brown's *Sex Problems and their Solution* (Mills and Boon, 5s.) is one of the many books on the subject that might very well have remained unwritten. Although the writer criticizes Freud, he makes Freud's mistake of resting his conclusions on the abnormal. The book, while claiming to be written for young people, deals with Sadism and Masochism and other forms of perversion about which most young people are—and would be wise to remain—entirely ignorant. In a volume that repeatedly claims to be scientific it is diverting to find among the authorities quoted "Andrew Soutar in the *Sunday Pictorial*," "Lady Terrington in the *Evening News*," and Miss Marjorie Bowen.

Mr. Cecil Robert's first novel (*Scissors*, Heinemann, 7s. 6d.) is full of promise, and the well-known journalist will be encouraged to go ahead. Book I is very well done, and Scissors grips us there more than in any other part of the book. Indeed, after he leaves school he seems to lose reality—especially in the parts of the book intended to be realistic. Mr. Roberts's boys are better drawn than either his men or his women. We can scarcely believe that the Muriel we are led to know would act as Muriel did—but Mr. Roberts will probably ask why we should expect a woman to be consistent!

Under Heaven One Family. (World's Student Christian Federation, 6d.). The Review for 1921–22.

PERIODICALS

The Holborn (Apl.) opens with a characteristic article on Renan by Professor James Moffatt, well written and full of wisdom. Readers should never omit Renan's prefaces, though they may pass over his prayers, and they should remember that he "knew the context better than the content of early Christianity." Dr. Peake, besides being responsible for many reviews (to which a larger space than usual is devoted), writes on the work of Dillmann, and pays a fine tribute to Buchanan Gray. The varied interest of the number will be seen from the titles of the articles: "Psycho-Analysis and Character" (Miss Price); "Hugh Gilmore" (Rev. J. Ritson); "Mr. Hutchinson's Novels and Christian Principles" (Principal Mumford); "George Crabbe" (Rev. A. J. Campbell); "Modern Life and Youth" (Rev. F. C. Hogarth); and "Hobbies" (Mr. A. R. T. Jones). Professor Atkinson Lee leads study circles on the subject of "Property."

The Hibbert (Apl.) is largely concerned with education. Professor Bompas Smith writes usefully on "The Reviving Interest in Religious Education," Principal Ernest Barker on "Until Teachers are Kings," Mr. G. M. Sargeaunt on "Song and Dance as a Function of the State," and Mr. Household, a Director of Education, an outspoken plea for "Teaching through the Mother Tongue," in which he has scathing things to say about our past insistence on the classics. There are four scientific articles, Dr. J. S. Haldane dealing with "Natural Science and Religion," Mr. Julian Huxley (very suggestively) with "Progress, Biological and Other," Sir Oliver Lodge with "The Effort of Evolution," and Bishop Robertson with "Revelation and Relativity" (a reply to Mr. Austin Hopkinson). Philosophy "gets a look in" in Mr. Carritt's "Theory of the Ludicrous" and Dr. Bartlet's "Christian Ethics." Mr. Haynes's "Enemies of Liberty" suffers by being too partisan. President Mullins outlines the Baptist Contribution to the Interpretation of Christianity, and another American, Professor Bonham, answers Mr. Stanley's strictures on Canadian life. Professor Dawes Hicks surveys recent philosophical literature.

The Pilgrim (Apl.).—A useful number has as its outstanding articles a powerful investigation of "Infallibility" by the Rev. C. E. Seccombe, and a clear statement of "Christian Social Principles" by the Editor. The Revs. F. R. Barry and B. M. Hancock discuss "Temporal Power" and "Marriage" from new angles; Dr. T. H. Hodgkin supplements Dr. Temple's notes on the international situation by an able article on "The Basis of World Reconstruction"; Miss Caillard writes on "Intuition and Insight," Rev. N. E. Egerton Swann on "The Socialization of Credit," and Canon Quick on "The Knowledge of God."

The London Quarterly (Apl.) is both instructive and entertaining. The Editor writes on "Immortality," and there are two thoughtful articles by the Rev. W. F. Howard and the Rev. E. S. Waterhouse respectively on "The Concern of the Gospel with Economic and Social Conditions" and "The Immanence of God in the Church." Mr. T. H. S. Escott's "Twentieth Century Letters in the Crucible" is rambling and garrulous, but the Rev. H. Bett's "Théophile Gautier" is very readable. Mr. E. E. Kellett's writings are always interesting, but surely there is something of Munchausen as well as of David in the sixteenth-century Babar. Rev. E. J. Bradford claims that Don Lorenso Perosi, the Italian composer, has been certified insane because he has left Roman Catholicism, and Dr. Sugden acquaints us with Samuel Wesley's (son of Charles) notes on Shakespeare.

The Baptist Quarterly (Apl.) has for its first article an informing paper on "The Foreigner in America," by Dr. Antonio Mangano. Professor Rowse writes on "Tendencies in Modern Psychology," and the Rev. William Olney's paper on "Public Prayer" should be read by all ministers, and perhaps especially by those who do not use the writer's terminology. Historical articles by the Revs. W. J. Avery, J. G. Pike, and the Editors are followed by an account of John Bunyan as a writer for children, which makes us realize the extent of progress in education.

The Modern Churchman (Apl.).—Two excellent articles by Dr. Rashdall ("What is the Church?") and Canon Tollinton ("Some Inherent Difficulties of Religious Liberalism") form the backbone of this number. Miss Petre writes on "The Roman Catholic Church and Reunion," Dr. Cyril Norwood a sermon on "Christianity and Science." The Editor's "Signs of the Times" include an offensive generalization about using "the pulpit in Nonconformist fashion at general elections to secure the return of a particular political party." (May).—Dr. W. D. Morrison contributes "The Religious Thought of Troeltsch," and the Editor, under the title "A Clerical Nimrod," an account of Dr. W. S. Rainsford's remarkable work in New York. Other articles are the Rev. E. J. Martin's "Liberty and Definition," Rev. J. C. Hardwick's "Three Ideals of Christianity"—Catholicism, Protestantism, Modernism—and the Rev. A. F. Robson's "Saints' Days, Old and New," in which he pleads for a new Calendar and a real observance of Saints' Days.

The Church Quarterly opens with Lord Phillimore's "The Law of Divorce," summarizing the law as at present and recent attempts to change it. The Bishop of Edinburgh writes on the Church in America and Canon du Buisson on Père de Foucauld. The Rev. C. W. Emmet discusses Dr. Gore's *Belief in Christ*, and Miss Dougall and he are treated with refreshing candour by Canon Goudge in a review of *The Lord of Thought*. Mr. F. E. Barker writes a learned sketch of Crashaw's religious poetry, the Rev. R. Hanson on "History and the 'Historic' Jesus," and the Rev. W. M. Pryke on "The Present Value of the Earliest Christian Apologetic."

The Interpreter (Apl.).—An interesting number. The Editor examines *The Beginnings of Christianity*, Canon Quick *The Lord of Thought*, and the Rev. A. W. F. Blunt *Outspoken Essays*. University sermons (Oxford by Dr. Lock on Eph. 4^{20-21}, Cambridge by Dr. A. C. Bouquet—a thought-provoking utterance on Public Worship) are followed by a suggestive article by Dr. J. H. Skrine on Catastrophic Christianity. Principal Major discusses Messianic Prophecy and the Gospels; Canon Ayles argues that Gen. 14 belongs to E; Rev. A. E. J. Rawlinson writes on the Garden of Eden, and the Rev. H. R. Newbolt on Beelzebub.

The Expository Times (Mar.–May).—N.T. scholars will read with interest Dr. R. H. Strachan's "Development of Thought in the Fourth Gospel" (Mar.), Dr. J. A. Hutton's "Differentia of the Gospel according to St. Luke" (Apl), and the Rev. J. S. Stewart's "Eternal Life and Deification" (May). Among Congregational contributors are the Rev. A. D. Martin (Mar.), "A Sequel to the Wilderness Temptation," and the Rev. S. Tonkin (Apl.), "The Withered Fig-tree." The "Notes of Recent Exposition" and "Literature" sections maintain their interest and value.

Friends' Quarterly Examiner.—One of the greatest problems of the Friends, as of all denominations, is that of the ministry, and this issue opens with three papers on "The Question of Recording of Ministers." Of general interest are Mr. Wallis's "Great Blizzard of 1881," Dr. Pierce's "A Day at Thebes," and Mr. Robson's "Long Voyages of 56 Years Ago." Education is dealt with in Mr. R. B. Graham's "The Curriculum in Secondary Schools." Mr. G. K. Hibbert writes a philosophical article, Mr. H. G. Wood discusses the next revival in religion, and Mr. C. R. Simpson the attitude of Friends to capital punishment.

The International Review of Missions (Apl.).—An excellent number, the missionary survey of 1922 being exceptionally useful. M. Elie Allégret (French Protestant) writes on Missions in the French Colonies, emphasizing the attitude of the Government to non-French missionaries and the need of co-operation between such missionaries and French *liaison* missionaries, especially in view of the Harris mass-movement. Dr. K. L. Butterfield points out the task for the Church in the villages of China, Mr. Oldham notes five Indian Conferences, and Dr. D. W. Lyon has a wise little article on "Some Atheisms to which a Missionary seems Susceptible."

The Yale Review (Apl.).—A very fine number, containing many articles that will appeal to British readers, among them Mr. H. A. L. Fisher's "Six Years of Education in England," Mr. Stephen Gwynn's "What It Is Like in Ireland," and Professor Stevens's "Scrapping Mahan." Students of psychology will probably turn first to Professor Pratt's "Religion and the Younger Generation." Literary articles include the Editor's "Novels of N Dimensions," Professor Sherman's plea for American Literature, and Mr. Curle's "Conrad in the East." Dr. W. W. Keen writes enthusiastically about Pasteur. President Hadley of Yale deals with the problem of American railroads in masterly fashion, and Mr. Latourette gives an account of "Present Conditions in China."

The Princeton Theological Review (Apl.).—Mr. R. D. Wilson's plea for an early date for the Book of Daniel, and the Editor's "study in higher critical method" (an examination of suggested emendations of Ps. 45^{7}) serve as useful warnings to scholars tempted to pass on to readers as "the assured results of scholarship" theories far from generally accepted. Mr. W. H. Johnson continues his discussion of "Is God Almighty?" Mr. Thornton Whaling writes on "Adoption," Mr. E. E. Eells on "Protestantism and Property," and Mr. H. K. W. Kumm on "Ramon Lul" (Raymond Lull).

The Review and Expositor (Baptist, Louisville, Kentucky, Apl.).—An entirely theological review, conservative and unnecessarily defensive, as some of the titles indicate; "The Present Situation in Theology" (President Mullins); "Sceptical Hammers broken on the Bible Anvil" (W. W. Everts); "The Evolution of Evolution" (Rev. J. Dunlop). The Rev. A. D. Belden writes on "The Return of Jesus," and there are other articles. Thirty pages are devoted to reviews.

[All books and periodicals reviewed in this Journal can be obtained from the Book-room of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, E.C.4.]

DISCUSSIONS

THE TRAINING OF THE MINISTRY

MAY I, while expressing keen appreciation of Dr. Selbie's typically clear and vital exposition, put forward some two or three points which seem to me important? In doing so I shall, I think, be voicing a fairly wide-spread feeling at the younger end of the ministry.

First, then, it comes as a shock to one, in looking back, to realize that it was possible (ten years ago) to go through one's college course, studying "Christian Ethics" to London B.D. standard, and also discussing, in seminar, Christianity in relation to various social questions, without once being set seriously to question the general *basis* of society. The need for unemployment insurance, relief works, and the like, was reviewed, but the question whether the motive of private gain, or "each for himself," was Christian, or adequate, was never approached. To-day, in the baleful light of war (merely self-interest writ large), and of recurrent industrial disputes which shake the whole system to its foundations, we are feeling after some higher motive of "function" or service, which shall in due time (as we hope) create its own appropriate forms of organization.

The point is, ought not our students to be led squarely to face the fundamental issue—so squarely that they will for ever afterwards put lesser (though still vital) matters, such as Sunday Games or the Tax on Betting, in their proper sequence? Otherwise, may not the "blasphemer" tell us, with some show of reason, that the Free Churches are for maintaining the present order broadly as it stands, being in this matter an annexe to the Liberal Party?

A similar shock is experienced when one recognizes that the question of the rightness or wrongness of war was never really examined during the whole of one's college course. In this matter we were left to the guidance of statesmen, the underlying assumption being that a "just" war was right, an unjust, wrong. Surely the Church's varying judgment through the centuries (not excluding the Quaker testimony) ought, on so vital an issue, to have been fully explored, and students given a fair chance of forming for themselves a conviction which should rest upon Christ instead of merely upon current standards. Here, also, unless there is to be a real facing-up to the question, may not the critic of our Churches tell us we are afraid of being found revolutionary?

A third point must have been subject for earnest thought by many. The paucity of results in our work, judged, that is, in terms of a changed outlook upon life, and a changed attitude to mankind—conversion, in short—makes us question at times whether we have quite got hold of the right method. "We learn by doing" is a principle which is gaining increased acceptance in our Sunday-schools (save where some faithful henchman "holds the fort" and refuses to budge from the old ways!), but in our Churches we still work on the accepted lines, providing no form of "expression" for our congregations. But is not neighbourliness, for example, best learned in the doing? And does not this suggest the need for some social *milieu* in which Christian relationships can be *practised?* Were not our camps more effective schools for certain of the virtues than our Churches had proved to be (see *The Army and Religion*)? "If England

became Christian to-morrow," said a Wesleyan friend recently, "most of us would be at a loss, being unpractised in the application of Christian principles to affairs." Is there not a hint for our Churches in the great work of Sanderson of Oundle, who sought to make his school a model of what he wished society in general to be—based on the twin principles of creative work and service to the community?

As to the need for some fundamental change in our Church method one is fully convinced; but as to the direction of such change, and whether it is a matter mainly of spirit or of organization, one confesses to being at a loss. Much thinking and experimenting need to be done. The point is, again, ought not the men in our colleges to be brought to face up to this very definite and insistent psychological need? Ought they not to examine the possibility that the stupendous task of turning men's hearts to God and to one another may call for more than the pulpit appeal; may call for the social action and reaction of some form of organized society, in which shall be acquired that attitude of "serviceableness" which shall be found valid for all the relationships of life?

W. H. Walker.

THE MEANING OF THE DEATH OF JESUS

Mr. Belden's Article: A Protest and Remonstrance.

Mr. Belden truly says that "the Cross is the supreme symbol of our faith, and the Church simply must re-discover its essential meaning and make it clear to the world." But, in my view, it is utterly hopeless to attempt this along the lines suggested. Mr. Belden's article is a bit of clever special pleading for a theory little less repulsive than the older theories condemned. He asserts that in the Cross there was a deeper and more far-reaching significance than Love. "We all want something more . . . The instinct for justice demands compensation before reconciliation can be perfect," and he adds: "It is best to regard this not so much as a demand of God upon man as a demand on man's part. Here is the true necessity for atonement."

I submit that this is entirely contrary to the spirit of Jesus' teaching and to the facts of life. Jesus, as the Interpreter of God to man, taught us to reason from man whom we know, to God whom we may know. "If ye, then, being evil know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father which is in heaven." The parable of the Prodigal Son may be taken as a simple exposition and illustration of the Psalmist's "Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth." Let us fearlessly apply this spirit and method to the doctrine of the Atonement. The prodigal, penitent and ashamed, returns to his father and is instantly forgiven and restored. Where is the demand for "something more"? No decent father demands or desires more. The very idea of "compensation" is repulsive. What Mr. Belden postulates as a deeply rooted principle and necessity is nothing more than the inevitable result of thousands of years of pagan traditions which have filtered down through Judaism and Romanism to the present day. In the interests of vital religion there is no more urgent necessity than that we should shake ourselves free from all this tyranny of tradition.

Let it never be forgotten that the Jewish writers of the N.T., being deeply impregnated with the national traditions, used symbolic phrases with which their readers were familiar in order to expound and illustrate the Christian faith. Some of these phrases present the old heathen doctrines

of vicarious and bloody sacrifice in their crudest forms. But there is at least one majestic phrase in which the Apostle Paul rises completely above that traditional view when he says: "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself." That is all the atonement we need.

The fundamental fact in regard to the atonement is that it was the manifestation on the earth-plane of an eternal fact in the nature of God. The Word that was in the beginning with God and was God became flesh. The sacrifice on the Cross was not a sacrifice to God, but a sacrifice by God. It was that of One who "through the eternal spirit offered Himself without spot unto God." He was the "Lamb slain from the foundation of the world."

This line of thought is admirably indicated in the last volume published by the late W. Garrett Horder, *The God that Jesus Saw*. "Fatherhood," he says, "in any real sense rules out the idea of everlasting punishment. And it also rules out, what has even yet been rarely realized, the need for any *persuasions* to obtain the mercy of God. All that the earthly father demands as a condition of his mercy to an offending child is such sorrow for wrongdoing that his forgiveness can be rightly given and received. But men believed, or thought that they believed, in the Divine Fatherhood, while all the while they regarded Jesus not as the expression or commendation, but as the *persuasion* of that Father to forgiveness of His repentant children. In this respect the Divine Fatherhood even now is rarely apprehended in its breadth and fullness."

The notion that "something more was necessary," some compensation before reconciliation could be perfect, is foreign to the teaching of Jesus and to the fundamental fact above mentioned, as well as to the human instincts to which Jesus appealed. It tends only to buttress up slowly crumbling superstition which has for ages eclipsed the truth and hindered human progress in the knowing of God.

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